

STUD

GALILEAN ARAMAIC

E. Y. KUTSCHER

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BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY RAM AT -GAN

Translated from the "Hebrew
Original and Annotated with
Additional Notes from the
Author's Hand copy

by

MICHAEL SOKOLOFF

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Studies in Galilean Aramaic by the late Prof, E.Y, Kutscher (1909— 1971) originally appeared in four installments in the Hebrew periodical *Tarbiz*, and then as a separate publication with indices, an English summary, and a table of contents².

The translation was begun in 1969, and the translator was able to consult with the author concerning several changes and improvements which were introduced into the English version with the author's concurrence. They are as follows:

1. All quotations from Ms.Vat.Ebr. 30 of Bereshit Rabba were rechecked from a photograph of the manuscript³. Furthermore, all quotations from Rabbinic and other primary sources as well as references to the secondary literature were rechecked.

2. In the original article direct quotations in German, French, and English were given in Hebrew translation. In the translation they have been quoted in the original languages.

3. In the original article many footnotes were added in proof and numbered a, b, c, etc. These, as well as many references and notes given in the body of the original text but which have now been relegated to the footnotes, have been renumbered consecutively. Therefore, the numbering of the footnotes in the translation does not correspond to that of the original.

4. Page references to Bereshit Rabba and other primary sources have been arranged in ascending order.

1 vol. XXI (1950), PP. 192-205; XXII (1951), pp. 53-63; 185-192; XXIII (1952), PP. 36—60.

2 Studies in Galilean Aramaic, Jerusalem 1952. Because of the addition of a title page the pagination of the separate edition differs from that of the offprint by two pages. Thus, e.g., p. 5 in the offprint is p. 7 in the separate edition, See the author's note at the bottom of the table of contents.

3 The author employed a microfilm of the manuscript and worked under difficult conditions (see p. 12, n, 4).

5. consultation with the author, several errors noted in the process of the translation have been eliminated.

6. Works frequently cited were given abbreviations (see

Abbreviations") and are cited by such throughout. (see "L

7. Hebrew words quoted in connection with points of Galilean Aramaic phonology are noted by the abbreviation (H).

8. Several books quoted by the author from manuscripts placed at his disposal have now been published⁴ and page references have been given to them. References to books which have now appeared in new editions have been adopted, since these are generally more available to the reader^s.

In consultation with the author it was decided to present a translation and not a reworking of the original article, and this plan has been kept. The updating of the bibliography which the author had planned to do himself has been undertaken by the translator in the appendix⁶ and has been limited to the most necessary items. I have especially tried to refer to articles which the author subsequently wrote, in which he enlarged and commented on matters of Galilean Aramaic.

I would like to thank Dr. R. Kutscher for placing his father's personal annotated copy of "Studies" at my disposal. Marginal notes and corrections found in it have been incorporated into the text where possible, and where not, have been placed in the appendix (marked E.Y.K.).

I would also like to thank Dr. M. Sharon who kindly checked the transliteration of the Arabic place names.

It is the translator's hope that the appearance in English of this important work by the dean of Jewish

Aramaic studies will be especially welcome to Aramaic scholars who have not been able to read the original.

4 These are: M. Margulies, *Midrash Wayyikra Rabbah*, 1953—1960; U. Cassuto, *Codices*

Vaticanae Hebraici I—115, Rome 1956. 2 1

5 These are: P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*², Oxford 1959; B. Mazar, *Beth Shearim* , , Jerusalem 1958; M. Avi-yonah, *Historical Geography of Palestine*², Jerusalem 1962 (Hebrew).

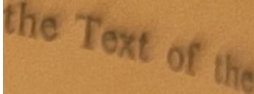
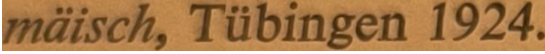

6 The additional notes "have been indicated in the text by letters.

LIST or ABBREVIATIONS

- AAC: S. Krauss et al., *Additamenta ad Librum Arach Completum*, Vienna 1937.
AC: A. Kohvt, *Aruch Comp/etvnp*, 8 volumes, Vienna 1926.
MF: F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen*, Leiden 1939.
AP: A.E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri from the Fifth Century D.C.*, Oxford 1923.
BA: Biblical Aramaic.
Bergsträsser, Glossar: G. Bergsträsser, *Glossar des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Ma'lūla*, Leipzig 1921.
B—L: H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des biblisch-Aramäischen*, Halle 1927.
BR: J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck, *Bereschit Rabba mit kritischem Apparat und Kommentar*, Berlin 1912-1936.
Brockelmann, LS²: C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², Halle 1928.
CG: P. E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, London 1947; second edition, Oxford 1959.
CIS: *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*.
CPA: Christian Palestinian Aramaic.
Dalman, Grammatik: G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*², Leipzig 1905.
EG: S. Klein, *Er« ha-Galil (The Land of Galilee)*, Jerusalem 1946.
Flora: I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, 1—IV, Vienna-Leipzig 1924—1934.
FPT: P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, II, Stuttgart 1930, pp. 1—65: *Fragmente des palästinischen Pentateuchtargums*.
.GA: Galilean Aramaic.
Gesenius-Buhl: W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, bearbeitet von F. Buhl, Leipzig 1921.
CHEY; M. Avi-Yonah, *Geografiya His/orit Sel Eres Yisra'el (A Historical Geography of Palestine*²), Jerusalem 1962.
GPE: J. Cantineau, *Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique*, Cairo 1935.
OS: L. Ginzberg, *Geniza Studies in Memory of Doctor Solomon Schechter*, I, New York 1928.
GVG: C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachens J*, Berlin 1908.
H: Hebrew,
HUCA: Union College Annual.
JPCI: S. Klein, *Jüdisches-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vienna 1928.
MdW; P. Kahle, *Masoretea des Westens*, I, Stuttgart 1927; II, Stuttgart 1930.

MG: Th, Nöldeke, Mandäische Grammatik, Halle 1875.

MGWJ; Monatsschrift/iir Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.

- MNM. • J. N. Epstein, Mavo ha-Mi'ta (introduction Mishnah),
Jerusalem 1948. 
- MS: S. Klein, Ma'amarim Sonim La'aqirat Ere' Yisra'et
(Various Article; on the
Study of Palestine), Vienna
1924. SA: Samaritan Aramaic.
Schulthess, Grammatik: F. Schulthess, Grammatik des christlich-
palästinischen

- , LS: Lexicon Syropalaestinum, Berlin 1903.
SL: A.E. Cowley, The Samaritan Liturgy, Oxford 1909.
SPI: F. Rosenthal, Die Sprache der palmyrenischen
Inschriften, Leipzig 1936.
Spitaler, Ma'lüla: A. Spitaler, Grammatik des neuaramäischen
Dialekt von Ma'lüla,, Leipzig 1938.
SS: G. Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways (trans. P. Leverthoff), London
1935.
SY: S. Klein, Sefer ha-Yijjup (Book of the Settlement), I,
Jerusalem 1939.
TA: Talmudic Aramaic (Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud).
TB: Talmud Bavli.
TJ: Targum Jonathan.
TO: Targum Onkelos.
TY: Talmud Yerushalmi (Palestinian Talmud), editio princeps,
Venice 1523.
YFE: J.N. Epstein, 'Additional Fragments of the Jerushalmi', Tarbi:,
Ill (1932), pp. 15-26; 121-136; 237-248.
YFC: L. Ginzberg, Yerushalmi Fragments from the Genizah, New
York 1909. 

YFL: S. Loewinger, 'New Fragments from the Yerushalmi Pesahim ch. 5-7', der Marx Jubilee Volume, New York 1950, Hebrew Section, pp. 237-256. ZDPV: Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.

1. (iAL! LEAN PROBLEM

For some time scholars dealing with Galilean Arantaic (viz the ranguagc of the Aramaic portions of the Palestinian Talmud, of the Aggadic Midrashim, of Pseudo-Jonathan, etc.) have felt that the linguistic investigation of this dialect was insumciently groundedl. It is therefore necessary to ascertain the present state of knowledge in this field and to sketch the outlines for future research in it.

It is my opinion that for several reasons the study of GA is in need of a complete revision.^a True, there is Dalman's detailed grammar of GA²; however, it is clear to me that this book has several defects. If in spite of them this book still has value, nevertheless, its definite statements are doubtful, and it cannot serve at all as a reliable basis for the description and study of GA. The book lacks a syntax^b and this a priori has a detrimental effect on its other sections. More serious was Dalman's methodological error of including material from too many different sources. The book is not only a grammar of GA, but also a grammar of TO and TJ to Prophets. It is now certain that the vocalization of these Targumim^c is not Palestinian but Babylonian³. Thus, they cannot be used at all to illustrate a Galilean form. Moreover, it is also doubtful whether the consonantal forms are of Palestinian origin. In any event these texts were certainly edited in Babylonia⁴. For our purposes they cannot be used until they have undergone a minute linguistic investigation (cf. infra 2).

It is, however, true that in each chapter Dalman treated Targumic Aramaic in separate paragraphs;

however, their close proximity has in the past led both casual readers as well as serious scholars into mistakes

1 see, e.g. H.L. Ginsberg, *Tarbiz*, V (1934), p. 383, n. 14; S. Lieberman, *ibid.*, (1932), p. 456, n. 3.

2 Dalman, *Grammatik*.

3 Rosenthal, *AE*, p. 130.

4 Kahle now claims that they were composed in Babylonia. See; Kahle, *CC*, p. 117. There is as yet no definite proof in this matter.

and will probably continue to do so in the future. Nevertheless, these are not the decisive faults, nor ■ is the fact that Dalman occasionally understood the text⁵. In spite of all its defects the book represented its time an important step forward in this field, Dalman's achievement appears even greater when we consider the fact that it was probably not easy for him to understand the material completely. After all, no scholar had taken up the task before him.

The most vital reason for a complete revision lies in the texts which Dalman used. These texts, viz, the first editions of the Palestinian Talmud, the Aggadic Midrashim, etc., are linguistically corrupt to such an extent that they cannot form the basis of a grammatical description of this dialect. This fact becomes clear from a comparison with the new texts which were discovered after the publication of Dalman's book (see *infra*). This holds true not only as regards the printed editions (including the first editions), but also with regard to manuscripts — even some which were considered very reliable (e.g. British Museum Add. 27169 [Ms. L] which was employed as the basis of the critical edition of *Bereshit Rabba*).

In particular, manuscripts which were copied in Europe cannot be considered as primary reliable sources from a linguistic point of view. The reason for this is quite simple. There is, of course, no work which is free from copyist's errors. However, in this case there is an additional factor. In Europe the Babylonian Talmud was primarily studied. Therefore, to the extent that the copyists knew Aramaic they were familiar with Babylonian Aramaic which is an Eastern and not a Western Aramaic dialect. In addition to

the language of the Babylonian Talmud, that of TO was also well known due to the custom of reciting the weekly Torah portion in Aramaic. As a result intentionally and unintentionally the copyists tend to overlay both the Babylonian and TO dialects on the Galilean dialect. (Occasionally, of course, Hebrew forms also crept in.) By examining the apparatus in the critical edition of Bereshit Rabba⁶ one may observe this tendency on any page containing Aramaic passages. It is instructive, for example, to compare the readings of Ms. Vat. Ebr. 30 (Ms.V) and Ms. L with those of the editio princeps or even with those of other manuscripts. One can observe how GA, a Western Aramaic dialect, "develops" and turns into Babylonian Aramaic, an Eastern dialect.

A, Reliable Texts

In recent years much progress has been made by scholars in establishing the correct text of the Palestinian Talmud by use of the Leyden Ms.ä (from which the editio princeps was printed in Venice), Ms. Vat. Ebr, J 33 of the Order Zera'im and the Tractate and quotations in early writers⁷. However, these manuscripts as well as the works of the early writers, are linguistically very corrupt and can never constitute a reliable basis for study. What is needed are reliable texts which are free (or nearly free) from the above-mentioned outside influences. Reliable texts of this type are available mostly as the result of the discovery of the Cairo Geniza. The main types of reliable texts are the following:

1) Fragments of the Palestinian Talmud—The majority of these have been collected by L. Ginzberg⁸, and the rest by J.N. Epstein⁹ and others¹⁰. The provenance of these texts is closer both in time and place to Palestine of the Amoraic period, and we may a priori assume that the scribes who copied them had a better knowledge of GA than the later European copyists. Thus they certainly did not intentionally "Babylonianize" the Galilean forms, and probably were less prone to unintentional corruptions than the European copyists. As will be shown, these texts have much fewer suspect Babylonian forms.

2) Fragments of the Palestinian Targum^d— These partially vocalized texts — some even with Palestinian vocalization were published by P. Kahle¹¹. According to him they date from the eighth to the eleventh centuries C.E., i.e. from a period when Aramaic was still spoken in Palestine. In my opinion, these are the most reliable texts. Except for ordinary scribal errors, they have no faults. Their importance was immediately

⁷ It is to be regretted that B. Ratner, *Varianten und Ergänzungen des Textes des Jerusalemischen Talmuds*, Ahawath Zion We-Jeruscholaim, Vilna 1905—1914 (Hebrew), which lists readings of the Palestinian

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Talmud quoted by early writers, does not cover all of the tractates. As to the clarification of the correct text of TY, see the various articles of J.N. Epstein and S. Lieberman published in Tarbiz, especially the following: J.N. Epstein, 'Some Variae Lectionis in Jerushalmi', Tarbiz, V (1934), pp. 257—272; 386—387; *ibid.*, VI (1935), pp. 38—55; S. Lieberman, 'Emendations on the Jerushalmi',

ibid., II—IV (1931—1934), in several installments.

8 L. Ginzberg, YFC.

9 J.N. Epstein, YFE.

10 S. Wiedder, 'A fragment of Jerushalmi from Geniza Fragments in Budapest', Tarbiz, XVII (1946), pp. 129-135; L. Ginzberg, C;S, pp. 390-448.c

11 P. Kahle, FPT. In my opinion the fragments on pp. 63—65 are later. They will be dealt with elsewhere.

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recognized by ILL. Ginsbetgt², According to Kahle, thig was also the opinion of Wensinck¹³. Nevertheless, to the best of my knowledge, thege texts have not been utilized until now except in Ginsberg's article, it should, however, be noted at the outset that these texts present a type of Aramaic which is slightly different from the Galilean type¹⁴.

3) A few other texts of Palestinian provenance, such as the Aramaic portions of Maasim li-bne Erez Israeli⁵ and some writs from Pales. tine.^a These texts have been published in the main by S. Assaf¹⁶.

4) The Jewish inscriptions from Palestine (with the exception Jerusalem. These inscriptions are perhaps written in Official Aramaic and not in the vernacular.)^b Though the inscriptions are few in number and are for the most part short, they can help us greatly in our study from many points of view¹⁷.


5) Besides these one very important source should be added: Ms. Vat. Ebr. 30 of Bereshit Rabba (Ms.V).C In my opinion this is the only reliable text known to date which does not come from the Cairo Geniza.

B. The Other Western Aramaic Dialects

In addition it is important to utilize the other Western Aramaic dialects to a greater extent than has hitherto been done¹⁸. Middle Western Ara-

¹²H.L. Ginsberg, 'Notes on a Palestinian Targum', Tarbiz, V (1934), pp. 381—383.

¹³P. Kahle, CC, p. 129.

¹⁴These will be dealt with in detail throughout the study. Three cases should be pointed out here: 1) The 3 m.pl. perfect is q!lw (as against q!lwn in regular GA. Ginsberg, op. cit., has already pointed this out); 2) The m.pl. participle of the Ill-y  verbs has only the form 'nin (root 'ny "to answer") instead of the form 'nyy in regular GA (See infra, pp. 43—46); 3) There are no sumxed object pronouns with the verb. Thus, we find, e.g. the form yqrb yth "he will sacrifice it" and not yqrbnh. The same holds true for CPA.

15 B.M. Lewin, 'Maasim li-bne Erez Israel (Palestinian Halachic Practice)' % Tarbi., 1/1 (1930), p. 100. The fragment seems to have been copied very accurately by a Babylonian scribe.

16 S. Assaf, 'Old Genizah Documents from Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa',

Tarbiz, JX (1938), pp. 11—34. 'However, not all of the documents of Palestinian provenance are written in the Palestinian dialect. Some are actually written in the Babylonian dialect!

17 The time has come to publish the inscriptions in one volume. The longest inscriptions were discovered after the publication of S. Klein, JPCI. They are all to be found in S. Klein, SY, arranged according to place names. (The register of the inscriptions listed in the index is incomplete.) See also: E.L. Sukenik, 'Jewish Tomb-Stones from Zoar (Ghor es-Sâfi)', Kedem, (1945), pp. 83-88 (Hebrew).

18 For the present state of knowledge, see in detail: Rosenthal, AF, pp. 104-172.

Iliaic comprises three dialects: 1) Galilean, 2) Samaritan, and 3) Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Neo-Western Aramaic is represented by the dialect of Ma'lûla (Anti-Lebanon). However, it should be noted that the utilization of these dialects for the study of GA is quite complicated.

A grammar of CPA¹⁹ which is presumed to be the language of Palestinian Jews who were forcibly converted to Christianity during the reign of Justinian ----- has been written by F. Schulthess²⁰. This grammar has several defects: The author never cites his sources, and it is therefore impossible to check him. Occasionally, there is reason to suspect his statements (see further on). It is clear from the book that the author knew practically nothing of GA, except from what he took from Dalman's grammar, and similarly with regard to SA and the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Ma'lûla. He did not properly evaluate the Vatican manuscript of the CPA lectionary — the most important manuscript in my opinion — which employs a type of vocalization system²¹. As the author himself admits, the syntax is not complete²². Nevertheless, as F. Rosenthal has rightly pointed out, in comparison to what has been published until now on GA and SA, this is the best book in the field.^a Previously Schulthess had prepared a good glossary in which he collected the vocabulary of the texts published up until that time²³.^b

With regard to SA the situation is even worse. There is still no critical edition of the Samaritan Targum^c and no proper grammar. The material published in Cowley's book²⁴ to which a glossary is appended may be used. Much material is to be found in two articles published by Dr. Z. Ben-Hayyim in Tarbiz²⁵ who utilized GA extensively.^d He has also

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19Incidentally, there is no absolute proof that this dialect originated in Palestine, even though there are many indications of this.

20F. Schulthess, *Grammatik*.

21See *ibid.*, p. 10. The lectionary was last published by P. de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae*, Göttingen 1892, pp. 257—402. This text is also found in two manuscripts from the monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai desert. Their text is unvocalized but employs a more plene spelling. See: M. Dunlop-Gibson and A. Lewis-Smith, *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, London 1899.

22These texts have one additional drawback, viz. they are apparently all translations from Greek originals.

23F. Schulthess, *Jos*.

24A.E. Cowley, *SL*. 25 Z Ben-Hayyim, 'Samaritan Poems for Joyous Occasions', *Tarbiz*, X (1939), pp. 190—200; 333—374.

tion shown on distinct ilq. From this may be discovered*
block; Most of the text was imposed and copied by people
W110 did not. Aramaic. Only more, evidence both Hebrew
influence everywhere. Even parqat of which only
part has been published (to which it is already indebted by
Avnion (due to the scribes?)²⁸ of which the
Hebrew dialect for grammatical is opposed to lexical
purpose is at the present problematical.^a

The dialect of MII'IOI (I) certainly contribute much to the
study of the Middle Western Aramaic in general. As
opposed to the two above mentioned Middle Aramaic
dialects which are roughly contemporary with GA, this is
an Aramaic dialect still spoken to this day in some
villages Damascus. Good phonetic transcriptions of this
dialect have been made over the previous decades
enabling one to accurately ascertain its structure
including its phonetics²⁹. These texts have been
excellently analyzed by A. Spitaler³⁰. Unfortunately, he
did not include a syntax. As for the vocabulary, there is
only a glossary prepared by G. Bergsträsser³¹. However, it
should be kept in mind that more than thousand years
separate this dialect from those of Middle Aramaic.
Interestingly enough, developments in this dialect have
sometimes followed the Eastern Aramaic pattern (cf. *infra* on
the definite article).

Two more Aramaic dialects should be mentioned here:
Nabatean and
Palmyrene. Both of them are not — or do not intend to be —
branches

■ Official Aramaic. At first glance both dialects are not
rooted in the

■ Ibid., pp. 333-337.

²⁷ Z. Ben-Jayyim has prepared a critical edition of this work, but
as yet no publisher has been found for it.

²⁸ See, e.g. D. Retting, *Memar Marqa*, Bonn 1934, p. 73, n. 24.

29 The texts come from Ma'101a. Most of them have been published by G. Bergsträsser, *Neuaranäische Marchen und Texte aus Ma'ân/a*, Leipzig 1915, and in other places. Texts from the two villages Bal'a and Gubb'Abdin have been recorded by S. Reich, *Études sur les villages araméens de l'Anti-Liban*, Damascus 1937,

30 A. Spitaler, *Grammatica*. No copy of this book was available in Israel. Prof. Spitaler himself was unable to find a copy for me. Since almost the whole edition was apparently destroyed in the bombing of Leipzig, I should like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. Spitaler for helping me in photographing a copy, to Mr. A. Halper. 'Einiashlofet, a Jewish Agency representative in Munich, who undertook the photographic work, and to Mr. Omanski of the Jewish Agency Youth Department, who made the work possible. A detailed critical review of the book will appear throughout this study. As Prof. Spitaler informs me in his letter of March 2, 1949, he intends to work on the texts collected by Dr. S. Reich, 31 O. Bergsträsser, *Glossar*.

GALILEAN

PPOPLVM

—where the inscriptions were found, viz. Nabatean in south-eastern Trans-Jordan and the northern Arabian peninsula², and Palmyrene in Palmyra in the Syrian-Arabian desert and its environs", it is quite possible that they were not spoken in the same manner in which they were written. But these facts are clear: On the one hand, Nabatean was strongly influenced by Arabic and also has pure Western Aramaic isoglosses. On the other hand, Palmyrene was influenced by Eastern Aramaic, though it is possible that it also contains pure Western traits (see further on).

Finally, here are two instructive examples which show to what an extent corrupt texts can distort the grammatical picture of GA.

Example 1 : The determination *mlk* means "a king," whereas *mlk'* "the king"; *mlkh* means ' 'a queen," whereas *mlkt'* "the queen." But in all the Eastern Aramaic dialects the force of the determination was lost. Thus: *mlk'* "a king." In CPA and SA the determination is still correctly used. What is the situation in GA? Dalman, who relied on the standard

texts, (which due to the copyists are influenced by Eastern Aramaic) concluded that the force of the determinatm was already lost in GA34. This was not Nöldeke's opinion35. However, a thorough investigation of reliable GA texts shows that there is no substantæ to this conclusion. As S. Lieberman has rightly pointed out36, **this** fact is specifically stated in the Palestinian Talmud (NazirX, 2 (51d)): .^yjS mhw lhtpys lw nzyrwt blSwn 'Sh tmn 'mryn h' nzyrh 'y 'br (= 'y'br)

"May a man take upon himself abstinence in the language of a woman? There Cl.e. in Babylonia) they say: 'Behold the Nazarite (nzyrh) passes.' " . This shows that even in the common speech of Palestine the distinction between the absolute and the emphatic states was maintained, while contemporaneously in Babylonia there was already no distinction between two states. Thus, nzyr' which in TA means "a Nazarite (m.)" was felt by speakers of GA to be an indefinite feminine noun nzyrh "a- Nazarite (f.)." This was a rather unfortunate mistake on the part of scholars,

32The texts date from circa 100 B.C.E. to 300 C.E. The evaluation of this dialect by

LCantineau (in his otherwise good book), *Le Nabatéen*, I, Paris 1930, pp. 175—180, is Qrrect. (I intend to deal with this elsewhere.)

33The texts date from the first century B.C.E. to the end of the third century C.E. The evaluations of J. Cantineau, GPE, PP. 163-164, and F. Rosenthal, SPI, p. 105, are chse to the truth.

P. 121, § 20, 1; p. 188.

Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasburg 1904, p. 4S. 36 Tarbiz, 111 (1932), p. 456, and *ibid.*, n. 3.

especially since in Ma'lüfa the same development took place as in Aramaic". Thus, at first glance we seem to find evidence for the incorrect assumption with regard to GA. ^a

Example 2:

It will be shown further on that two forms established by Dalman, viz. the 3 f.pL perfect and the infinitive of the pe'al-conjugation are not rect. If there is reason to differ with Dalman on these two basic forms we certainly cannot trust his statements on the more obscure features of GA.

In light of the foregoing remarks regarding the linguistic editing of GA texts, we may formulate the following rule: If we find in GA two forms, and one of them is identical with the TA form, it is a priori suspect. Moreover, if this suspect form is not found in any Western Aramaic dialect, it is much more suspect and is in fact to be considered unreliable.

On the other hand, readings in the printed editions should not be rejected out of hand. Consider the following example: S. Lieberman in his book, *Hayerushalmi Kiphshuto* (Jerusalem 1934), Introduction, p. 12, warns of the danger of rejecting rare readings.³⁸ He points out that in Y. Ber. II (4c) the reading lylyh "to him" occurs instead of the regular lyh, and lylyh twice in Y. Dem. VII, 1 (26a) according to Ms.Vat. Ebr. 133. He adds: "And they certainly spoke this way in some places in Palestine." And, in fact, this form is to be found in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Ma'lüla: léle "to him," léla "to her."³⁹ The conclusion is that reliable texts must provide the basis, while other texts can be adduced to provide supporting evidence only.

A revision of the grammatical study of GA as proposed here leads to important results in several fields. Firstly, it will be possible to establish the real character of GA. Secondly, the degree of unanimity of Middle Western Aramaic will be clarified more exactly. Only after this will it be possible to move on the third task, viz. to determine the nature of the Aramaic of TO and TJ to the Prophets^{40,b} According to Dalman, it

37 Spitaler, *Ma'ûla*, p. 98. Spitaler, of course, accepted Nöldeke's opinion concerning GA.

38 This was especially stressed by J.N. Epstein.

39 Spitaler, *Ma'ûla*, p. 54, S 39. On this matter, see now: S. Lieberman, *Tarbi* XX (1950), pp.

40 Only a small portion of this material has been published critically on the basis of Yemenite manuscripts and Geniza fragments.^c To the editions which Rosenthal¹ AF, p. 128, lists, add: J. F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah*, Oxford 1949.

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PROBLEM

the language of judea⁴t. According to Rosenthal, it is an ex-

tcnsion of Official Aramaic which is not connected with a specific geographic area, so that it could be employed througho^Ut the whole Aramaic speaking Jewish Diaspora⁴²e According to Kahle its place of origin is Babylonia⁴³. At the moment we cannot bring proof from any of the Aramaic works enumerated by Dalman⁴⁴ and Rosenthal⁴⁵, since their language —

suspect of being artificial and under the influence of TO, etc.

Moreover, besides having a bearing on these later Aramaic dialects, certain conclusions point to a clarification of the nature of BA. The scholarly debate which began at the end of the preceding century on the subject "Is BA an Eastern or a Western dialect?" ended not many years ago. It goes without saying that on the result of this controversy hinged another important problem: If it became clear that the Aramaic of the Books of Ezra and Daniel was a Western dialect, then, for example, it would be difficult to believe that the Aramaic documents in Ezra were authentic and not forgeries. (From this it follows that there would be serious questions as regards the reliability of these

sources concernirv the building of the Temple, etc.) At the moment there is no clear-cut conclusion.^a The current assumption is that the language of the Books of Daniel and Ezra is Official Aramaic which was the accepted literary medium both in the Eastern and in the Western parts of the Persian Empire⁴⁶.

Now, after a new clarification of these Aramaic dialects of definite Western origin (with the exception of TO, etc.) we may pose the question differently: Did Official Aramaic originate in the East or in the West? Or conversely: Can the Western Aramaic dialects be considered linear descendants of Official Aramaic or not? Throughout this investigation I will try to hint at these conclusions and finally to sum up and point out the preliminary conclusions.

The study of Mishnaic Hebrew will most likely also benefit from a clarification of the Aramaic in GA texts.^b Scholars dealing with Mishnaic

Grammatik, p. 13 ff. This is true at least as far as the consonantal text is concerned. The vocalization tradition originated in Babylonia. 42 AR, Pp. 105; 127 ff.

44 Grammatik, p. 13 ff.

46 see in detail: AP, PP. 60-71; in brief, i

n my review of A F in

Hebrew texts know to what a large extent Palestinian Hebrew Was "corrected" by the copyists⁴⁷. Thus, if we find a Midraghic text in which the Aramaic portions were not "corrected" or corrupted we may assume that the Hebrew portions were also more faithfully preserved than in other texts. This is even more so when there is reason to believe that the text itself is of Palestinian origin, i.e. it is a reliable text as defined above.

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- 47 A glance at Epstein, MNM, pp. 1207—1269: The Orthography, is very instructive.

2. MS. VAT. EBR. 30 (e MS. V) OF BERESHIT RABBA

coMPARED WITH OTHER RELIABLE TEXTS AND THE OTHER DIALECTS OF WESTERN ARAMAIC

A. The Nature of Ms. V

Since besides the few Geniza fragments described above there is no other reliable text of GA, any addition is very important. In my opinion, Ms. Vat. Ebr. 30 of Bereshit Rabba (= Ms. V) is such a text,

As Ch. Albeck already saw, the text of this manuscript is better than all the others: "This manuscript is superior in its correct readings to all the other manuscripts." (My italics E.Y.K.) I. The late U. Cassuto also concurred in this opinion². It is therefore unfortunate that Theodor, who began the edition of the text, did not print this manuscript as the basic text of the critical edition — even though this manuscript is incomplete. Instead, its readings are buried in the critical apparatus. It is now clear that by comparing the Aramaic portions of this manuscript with other reliable texts and the other Western Aramaic dialects, it will be seen that not only is Ms. V superior to the other manuscripts — even to Ms. L which was printed as the basic text of the edition — but it is the only manuscript containing authentic GA, practically uninfluenced by TA. It may be concluded from this that the copyist still understood what he copied. The other manuscripts are full of Eastern Aramaic f01ms which show that the independent status of GA was unclear to them. According to Cassuto who personally examined the manuscript, it is written in an Eastern hand and dates from the eleventh century C.E. According to

J. Schirmann who examined photographs of several pages, the writing is Eastern and dates from the eleventh-twelfth centuries. Thus, from a paleographic point of view there is reason to believe that the scribe lived near a place where, and at a time when GA was still spoken, perhaps in Palestine itself. There seems to be further proof: There appear to be two

1 J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck, DR, Introduction, p. 107.

2 U. Cassuto, *Codices Vaticanae Hebraici*, Rome 1956, pp. 36—38. This is contrary to the opinion of J. Theodor in his article 'Drei unbekannte Paraschas aus Bereschit rabba', *Festschrift J. Guttmanns*, Leipzig 1915, p. 148, n. 1.

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IN

places in Ms. V where there is Palestinian vocalization³: written reply" (ἀντιγραφή) 761; skeyt (corrected to sbyt?) 916 (according to the photograph in my This antygrph

system disappeared at a very early period and was only manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza³. In my opinion this almost as valuable as the Yerushalmi fragments from the Cairo and only the fragments of the Palestinian Targum (and, the Aramaic inscriptions from Galilee) surpass them in linguistic portance.

In this study it will be shown through a detailed comparison with liable texts that this is in fact a reliable text. I will deal first with linguistic phenomena which will show to what extent the other

several scripts have become corrupted in comparison with Ms. V. Afterwards several specific linguistic topics will be dealt with in detail. This will shed light on material contained in other reliable texts which have not been utilized up until now. I have occasionally used a new manuscript of BR

Ms. Vat. Ebr. 60a — from a microfilm in my possession⁶. Most of the


³ Since it is difficult to clarify the matter completely from a photograph this is not certain. There are also some words with Tiberian vocalization. Cf. Albeck, BRV Introduction, p. 108.

⁴ I became aware of the superior nature of Ms. V through the use of the variants in the critical apparatus. However, since Theodor prepared the apparatus until chap. 53 from a handcopy (and not from photographs), and I had encountered readings in Ms. V which surprised me, I ordered a microfilm of

the manuscript from the Vatican Library. From the microfilm I ascertained that there are many omissions in the critical apparatus including whole passages, e.g. p. 247, 1.7: R. svm'wn bn yw&yy 'mr &wry mwqryn lhwn kl mn dlzzy lhwn kbny 'lhy' "R. Simeon b. Yohai said another (explanation): 'They . , . everyone who seems to them to be as the sons of the gods'."

As Prof. Albeck informs me, the copyist's handwriting was difficult to read, and so Theodor had to forgoe listing words whose readings were unclear to him, and this included many words of both textual and linguistic importance. As far as I have checked, there is a marked improvement from chap. 53 on when Theodor used photographs. I have found practically no errors in the section on which Prof. Albeck worked (Chap. 87 on was prepared entirely by him; chaps. 53—86 are partially his work. Cf. the note "To the Reader," before p. 713). I would like to thank my student, Mr. Joseph Levy, who spent several months in Italy, for his aid in securing the photograph for me, and Mr. S. Yeivin, Director of the Israel Department of Antiquities, who kindly permitted me to use the microfilm reader in the department's possession.

5 On the Palestinian vocalization, see Kahle, *MdW*, I, p. 23 ff.

6 The sigium of this manuscript will be V2. (By rights, Ms. V should be given the sigium  but I did not wish to depart from the usage of the critical edition.) prof. U. Cassuto brought this manuscript which was unknown to the editors of BR

linguistic material quoted in this study differs from the basic text (Mg. L). sometimes, the basic text is identical with Ms. V since its readings were occasionally preferred by the editors, and have not always noted this fact. It should be emphasized that not in every place where Ms. V differs from the basic text is the basic text corrupt. Sometimes both readings are correct or at least ----- it is not possible at this stage to prove that the reading in the basic text (and in the rest of the manuscripts) is corrupt.

B. Grammatical Corruptions in Ms. L and in Other Manuscripts as opposed to Ms. V

With regard to the exactness of Ms. V as opposed to the other mss., the treatment of the determination is an outstanding case in point. In Ms. V, the absolute and the determined states are used properly as in the other reliable texts, in CPA, and in SAO. In other mss., the correct use of the determination has been lost under the influence of TA (Thus: mlk' "a king," "the king"). E.g.: lidh 'yth "one woman" 1095; but in the basic text lid' 'tth ('tth "the woman," together with lid' "one"!)). This phrase is also found in several other places, e.g. 362, 363, 932 (read: lidh for hdh). 'yt 1k brt "Do you have a daughter?" 302, but in the basic text 'yt 1k brt' with determination. Also to be preferred is lid qsy! d&mr "one xestes (a _measure) of wine" 503, over the reading &mr' in the basic text. (This reading may also be explained.)

On the other hand we find in the basic text indefinite nouns with demonstrative pronouns, something which is impossible in Western Aramaic. But in Ms. V the determined state is correctly used: hdn rpjh "this stamp (of the foot)" 1158, but in the basic text dyn rpyj; hdyn dhb' "this gold" 162, but in the basic text zhb (Hebrew!); hdn /grb' "this sword" 1275, but in the basic text ltd &rb'!

There are many mistakes in gender⁷. E.g.: lulh 'ygrh "a letter" 883, but in the basic text lid 'gr' (m. indefinite

pronoun modifying a f. noun); wkn hwwh lh "and so it was" 1095, but in the basic text hwt (so also 1096); mh 'bdt hhy' jynk "How does your tooth feel?" 306, but in the basic text 'bd. A particularly interesting example is the following one: wydyyh

to my attention. According to him, the manuscript dates from the 10th-11th cents. C.E. Unlike Ms. V which is written in a square script, this manuscript is written in Rashi script. Until now I have investigated only a few of its Aramaic portions. Though superior to Ms. L, it does not seem to be a reliable text.

⁷ This is connected to some extent with what was discussed in the previous section.

din 171511 "And the hands which strip" 733.

V from "1171&yn (m.pl.). In the basic The textform in Ms. form can also be explained.) whynyn yhybn "and they (f.p! pearls — pnrglyyn) are placed" 813, but in the ba

(m.pl.); d'thwn dbyw'th dhynyn mdy'n "from tsic text animals which perspire" 917. The editors here placed he perspiration reading yhyhy, tin th basic text (As opposed to the other manuscripts here, V is completely ■

Aramaic); however in V, *ibid.*, there is a corruption: carry" instead of !'ynn (f.pl.); mlyn rkykn "soft Words" 1158 rkykyn (m.pl.); mnhn byysn mynhn wmnhn qwwsrn sheep) are sick, some are sterile, some are sickly" 853. All the forms

f.pl. since they refer to ṣ'n "sheep" (f.pl.).

Mistakes in pronouns: qbylynwn "he received them" 522, but in the basic text qblynhw with the TA m.pl. pronominal suffix -ynhw; dhw' "that he" 552. In the basic text d'yhw' which is a TA form ('yhw

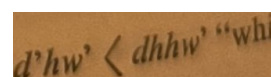
"he" 18. ■

"upon him" 699, instead of 'lyh "upon her"; mlyhwn drbnn "the words the Rabbis" 48, but in the basic text mlhn; mn ywmwy "from his days" 785, but in the basic text mn ywmyh "from his day" (so also 607); mn "who did" 363, and not mh; 'lwy "upon him" 742, and not Clyw (Hebrew!); Imylwy ddn "to the words of this one" 45, but in the basic text myly ddn (construct state); d' Idn "this one (f.) to that one (m.)" is exact since the reference is to a man and a woman; 'It Iqrth hlk

bnymwsh "If you enter (lit. you (m.sg.) entered) a city, follow its custom" 491, and not nymws' "the custom" as in the basic text.

Errors in the noun: 'n' "man" 925, but in the basic text 'ynyj^a which is the TA form; blyly' "in the night" 333, but in the basic text lylyh (He. brew); mn gybr "from a valiant man" 536, and not gwbry; twrgmnh "his interpreter" 539, and not trgyznyh.

Errors in verbalforms: 1) dhwwt npylh "(the field) which was in a low state" 628, is to be preferred over npwlh (Hebrew); 2) q'ym "standing" 639 instead of q'y in the basic text which is a TA form; 3) 'twm mqlyn Imlkh "you are making fun of the king" 690, The form mqlyn is to be preferred over mqylyn (Hebrew). Even though the yod might be considered here to be a sign for the jéwä mobile, nevertheless, this form seems to me to be corrupt. The correct form is approximately L*maqqélinl (rt. qil). Also the form 'qylnn (approximately L*'aqqelnanl) "we have fun" 690 is to be preferred over 'qlynn; 4) m'yynyh appears in the basic



8 The reading in Ms. Lis: which probably goes back to that one." See: Dalman, Grammatik* p. 112.

647. For the first occurrence, read with Ms. V9'. m'yynh
 watch" (pa"el infinitive)lO. The form m'yynyh cannot
 be an infiniacclisative pronoun since this would
 have to be m'yynth or yth. Cf. similarly
 of in the basic text; 5) gysh 9th Imgyss "an army came

fed, you 7) gave jbyqynyh drink "leave accompany!" (f.sg.) it alone" 496. 'kit
 305 in is the to basic be preferred text is a pé'atover

ihqyh in the basic text; 8) tqnt "did you tithe?" 6509 and
 not tqnt' as in the basic text. 9) dyyzl "that he should go"
 1145, and not dnyzyl (a TA form) in the basic text; pö'al-
 form instead of m'nyy' in the basic text.

The preceding examples suffice to show the superiority of
 V over the other manuscripts, since it is almost completely
 free of the influence of TA. Here follows a list of a few
 forms in V which seem to be corruptions under the
 influence of TAb (They are apparently unintentional errors.
 Most of them appear in the first part of the manuscript): 1)
 hd zymn' "one time" 362, should be lid zmn; 2) lsgwd "to
 prostrate oneself" ibid., should be lmsgwd; 3) 't'bwd "they
 occurred" 257 is a TA form. The correct GA form is *'t'bdyn
 (f.pl.); 4) dhtm "there" 327 is a TA form. The correct GA
 form is dtmn; 5) lid ' kh "one brother" 1144, should be
 lgd'&. Perhaps the alef of 'lg was the cause of this error; 6)
 lhw "to them" 189, should be lhwn. Perhaps this is an
 intentional abbreviation, even though no dot over the word
 (as a sign of abbreviation) is visible in the photograph. It
 seems to me that the form 'mry "they say" 598, 754 should
 be considered an abbreviation, even though there is no
 dot; 7) dnyn "they judge" 302 is Hebrew and should be
 dynyn (m.pl. part. of an Il-w verb). However, forms of this
 type do occasionally occur in CPA and SA, and this is
 apparently a legitimate Aramaic form.

9 In the second place: m'yyny. This is apparently not a corruption,
 since we find the quadriliteral verb m'yyny in Targum Yerushalmi to
 Deut 32:10. (See M. Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, etc., New

York 1903, and J. Levy, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch iiber die Targumim etc., Leipzig 1867, s.v. This reading is not found, however, in M. Ginsburger, Das Fragmententhargum, Berlin 1899.) The same verb occurs in SA (see Cowley, SL, Glossary, s.v. 'yn) meaning "to guard*" and therefore m'yyny is a Participle, According to this, it is also possible to maintain the reading in the basic text. Prof. S. Lieberman has pointed out to me two parallels in TV: rby hwh tynyn "R. Simeon b. Lakish was guarding fig trees" (M. Kat. 111, Sid); Hyb lyh m'yyny lwn "He sat down to guard them" (Dem. VII, 26b)." 10 Dalman, Grammatik, p. 281; *ibid.*, p. 279.

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C. Ms. V A Trustworthy Source for the Knowledge of

Spelling and Pronunciation

In Palestine as opposed to Babylonia tā], whether as a sign of the definite article or as a feminine indicator, was for the most part indicated by h and not by e.g. mlkh "the king," 'a queen" and not We may ascertain this fact from the texts in YFGII, from other texts and from Aramaic inscriptions from Palestine. In the Noaran inscription there are twelve instances with h. In the el-Hammeh inscription there are seven instances with h as opposed to only one with '. In the beginning of Ms. V both h and are used indiscriminately (There are no long Aramaic passages in this part), but from the middle of the manuscript on, h predominates and the occurrences of ' are insignificant. For example in the story of the Emperor Diocletian (pp. 688—690), h predominates. This is not the case in the other manuscripts, including Ms. L.

In Ms. V we find interchanges of letters¹² which — as far as can be ascertained — appear to be indicative of GA.

b — w: hSbyr (H) "he took across" 608, alongside SySwwr (H) "that he should jump" *ibid.*; dywwny "of Jabne (Jamnia)" 906; wsbhyn "and they call" (= *všwwhyn*) 472; S'bh (H) "wax" (= S'wh) 113613; Igb 306, mlgb 307 "inside" (= lgww, mlgww). The forms bgyw, bgyyw 1239 (all together 5 x) also occur; nww!y "Nabatean" (= nb!y) 486; (dbyt) librn "Hauran" 854, alongside &wwrn 861. FPT: j'b' "wax" (= S'wwh) p. 17 Gen 37:25; wrbh "and he became intoxicated" (= wrwwh) p. 32 (Gen 9:21); wrbwn "they became intoxicated" p. 47 (Gen 43:43). YFG: E.g.. qyswwh (H) "allotment" (= q:sbh) 206, 282; hlbyy "oh that!" (= hlww'y) 1396; m'lby "from above" (= m'lwy) 19925', gbyl (H) "parchment" (= gwwy/) 203 If, hbwn "they were" (= hwwn) 2719; pyryh wrywwyh (H) "increase and propagation" (= wrybyyh) 1933,4; rbq (H) "bachelor"

11 Cf. L. Ginzberg's well put comment in his book, *A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud*, vol. J, New York 1941, p. xli: "It is further to be noted that the text of the Palestinian

Talmud was often badly transmitted, so that what seems ' to that be the faulty scribes editingin is sometimes faulty copying"; p. 40 (Hebrew Introduction):

Europe followed the Babylonian orthography which replaced he with ale/" (fhswpryn b'r»vt 'xyrwp' ngrrw 'lw hktyb hbbly Jh&lyp h b—'). My point is that the retention Of h is definite proof that the text is of Palestinian origin and was not tampered with by ' 'Babylonian" copyists. However, one text is known to me in which h was replaced by ', but the text itself was not affected, and there are also portions of FPT in which ' predominates, e.g. pp. 6—7.

12 1 have only checked the Aramaic portions systematically.

13 This reading is given as a gloss in the margin of Ms. V.

'rqbt') 26522. (See

2388; 'Ca high Persian dignitary (

(= r'wq)
AAC, p. 2

27, s.v. 'Iqpt'. Illis spelling is not listed there.) CC also Epstein, 1223 ff. These

changes are often found in SAIL

BfNbf, s: p. (Il) "and presses them" 32 (2 x) is corrected by a later

§ —
14

,nslq•, (H) "he is troubled" 639, 672. Cf.

Epstein, *ibid.*, p. 1224. (H) "archers" (= q'tym) 611 (4 x), This is a partic-

ularly interesting example. The first t became t under the influence of

15. Then afterwards q dissimilated to k, since as, for example, in

Akkadian, two emphatic consonants cannot coexist in the same root.


Cf. kFyr "harvest" qsyr) in Elephantine Aramaic (Ahiqar, 1. 127).

We may therefore suppose that such a dialect also existed in Palestine. We may pose the question whether the form tkjy! is not really tq5y{ "decoration." This form occurs in YFG 10622,269 see Epstein, MNM, p. 1227.

b —p: jpjptyh "his branch" 632, 633. In the basic text Sbsbn (see the commentary). In CPA the form s%wbjbn occurs; 'pwplsmwn "balsam" 31 generally appears as 'pwblsmwn (e.g. 319); mwbqr (H) "ownerless property" 837 (2 x); wmbqyrwt (H) "and they (f.pl.) offer themselves to prostitution" 645; hbqyr (H) "he renounced" 693; (bny 'dm) jlhbqr (H) "outlaws"; cf. tpjyl "cooked dish" (tbsyl) FPT 50 (2 x) (Lev 21:3), tpswly (H) YFG 2746, etc. Epstein, MNM, p. 122016..

Miscellaneous spellings: bytw (H) "his daughter" (= btw) 1031, 1232 (cf Epstein, MNM, 1241) ; 'yqr

"honor" (= yqr) 307, 'yqryn "honors" YFE 163. In Y. Ber. 2d, according to the Leyden Ms.: 'yqr. This was corrected in the manuscript itself to yqr, and it appears thus in the editio princeps (Venice 1523) which was printed from the Leyden manu-

script; bn (H) "between" (= byn) 666, 718, 837; ben (vocalized in V) 1176 mbntyym (H) "from the middle" 681, YFE 124 (3 x). This spelling occurs also in CPA and three times in the Noaran inscription. The forms: jwbth, Swbh, "Sabbath" 689, 728, 1261; 'wp "also" 346; byt gwbryn "Eleutheropolis" 647, 761 (a > o?), YFG 232 gave" approximately *wiyhab) 306, Cf. dhwbn "who 27,28; (m.pl.) whb "and gave"he  *dihābūn), dhw "who (m.sg.) gave" (= *dihab) in the el-Hammeh

14 several examples from J.w, Nutt, Fragments of a Samaritan Targum, London

1874: bgbkwn (-bgwwy/cwn) (Lev 26:12) "in your midst"; wimlg'b (=wmlgw) (Num

18:7) "and from inside"; (Num 20:16) "and we shouted"; b'wyl bsbyl) (Num 22:24) "on the path"; etc.

15 see also in Palmyrene and in TY; q'/yn, q'tym YFG

16 Perhaps assimilation played a role in some of the examples quoted above.



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IN GALrr,nAN

inscription. The following spellings sh

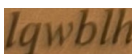
"accustomed to" 1035, 1065, 1066 (on ould p. 1 173also be noted: or) to 1/177""d)•, IY'7?M'dym 673, instead of the re stein, MNM, p. 1258); kydy "worthy" kdy) gular 253;lānmd,

29, 246, 572, 742, 747, 1064, 1075; more" (spellings with ' are found mainly in foreign words, e.g.

A very instructive example with regard to the linguistic editing texts is the word ywmdn  "today" 1172. S. Lieberman has already that the spelling as one word was once very widespread. (It is now written ywrn' dyn or ywm dyn.) Formerly, only one example was known: YFG 1493. According to this form Lieberman corrected Y. Git. 47a by com. parison with the Leyden Ms. The phrase: wmh lidtyn yymrwn (vocalized in the Leyden Ms.: yewmörwn) should be: mh lidtwn ywmdyn "What new interpretation have you established today?" With regard to the spelling ywm dyn, there is no doubt that it derives from ywmdyn. As was pointed out above (S B, beginning), the demonstrative pronoun is used only with a noun in the determined state, i.e. we should vocalize [yömådenl  [yömå den]]. Proof for this comes from the form in Ma'lüla imöd "today," where accented ä > ö¹⁸. Copyists who did not know the correct pronunciation divided ywmdyn into two words ywm dyn. The spelling ywmdyn alongside ywm' dyn is found also in CPA¹⁹.

The preposition qdm (= [qodåm]) "before" is written mostly plene: qwdm 689 (2 X); qwdmyy "before me" 689; qwdmwy "before him" 689, 815, 818, 1242; corrected to qwdmwhy 882; qwdmh "before her" 479; qwdmyhwn "before them" 689, 690. This is the spelling in CPA20 and in

SA21. Defective spellings: qdmyy "before me" 307, 363; qdmyhwn "before them" 363 (2 X). In the vocalized portions of FPT the spelling is defec« tive. (Perhaps the scribes relied on the vocalization); however; in the unvocalized texts, the spelling is mostly plene, e.g. qwdm "before" 39; qwdmyy "before me" 38, 52, 53, 57, etc.; qwdmyk "before you 43.

The preposition qbl (approximately: [*qobåll]) "towards" is  "towards him" (in the basic

text Iqyblh) 682; me" 1234; Iqwb/y "towards me"
FPT 40. The spelling klv,qbl

J 7 Ha)'erusha/mi Kiphshuto,
Introduction, p. 23. 18 Spitaler, Ma'lüla,
p. 120.

Schulthess, *LS*, s.v.

Ibid., s.v.

examples nee

21 Since this is very co is very common in Nutt, OP. cit., no
be

VAT. vpR. (e or DERESffft RADDA

CC also F!'T 39; ih. 19 (2 x): ké/âqhdl (so
vocalized) 015 is interesting. Grammatik, p. 2M, 7).
form also occurs in CPA22, and in syriac24. As in
FI'T the spelling k/qbl 438 also occurs.

Ms. V: "behind the door" 639, instead of: l'hwry in
the txt. This form occurs in Y. B. Bath. 13b (according
to Dalman, Grammatik, p. 230), in YFG 1015
(lw&rwy), and even in CPA%, In an Aramaic fragment
of the so-called sepher Ha-Maasim, published in
Tarbiz, T (1931), Part I, p. 100: lw/.lr (a singular
form!). This seems to be a transition stage for the
form roll/ in Ma'lüla where metathesis has taken
place26 spelling)l'ith yy is proof of the tendency
against the contraction of the

diphthong ay, e.g. byyty "my house" 1234, dbyytk
"of your house" 785, byytyh 431, 1234, lbyytyh "to
his house" 1232 (5 ><), 1242; 'yynwy "his eyes"
1038, 421 (written 'yynyy), 'yynh "the eye" 551;
myynwqyyh "the children" 543, 688, 1061; &yly
"my strength" 1253, &y/k "your strength" 197 (2
x), &yylh "the strength" 1241, &yylkn "your (m.pl.)
strength" 582; myyth "she dies" 648; qryytwn "you
(m.pl.) called" 648;

thyymyn "you (m.sg.) will believe" 455. Of course, spellings with one y are also found, e.g. tnyth dbyth 1095 — tnyyth dbyyth 1069 "the beam(?) of the house" 1096. This tendency is clear in FPT, particularly in the vocalized fragments. Here are a few examples from YFG: 'yynyh "the eyes" 615, 'yyny' "the eyes" 3017, 'yynyh "his eye" 13220; myynwqh "the child" 918. Does the spelling rwtwy "his spirits" 236 indicate a pronunciation rūāoy (= rw&why) as occurs in FPT?

Ijm—ljn "language":^a kl hjmwt hllw I'm mrdwt hn "all these names are terms of rebellion" 236; kwln bjm mrdwt hn 618 (3 mss. : Ism). As pointed out by Epstein, MNM, p. 1232, this form occurs in Mechilta D'Rabbi Ismael (ed. Horovitz-Rabin), p. 247: ykwł tqr'nw 'bd ISwm bzywn, and several times in the Palestinian Talmud: I'm (= Ijn) mtnyt' "language of the Mishnah." The forms Ijwn mrdwt 255, mrd 246 occur. Also: bwrgr Ism bwrgrwth (burgarius is called by the name Ijn bwrgrwth; of his castle" several 337. According mss. : Ijwn) to Epstein,"as the

22 schulthess, Grammatik, p. 38.

23 Spitaler, Ma'lüla, p. 128.

24 C. Brockelmann, Syrische Grammatik⁷, Leipzig 1955, S 52, Anm. 1. The ex-

25 schulthess, Grammatik, p. 59. 26 spitaler, Ma'lüla, p. 131. **even there.**

there is an interchange of "—m here (as opposed to the change 'dn ' C'man"). The fact that in all the above-mentioned examples the word occurs before the labials b and m points to a different explanation, assimilation (complete or partial). However, against this explanation. 'Isryn 'wmryn 15m 'Isr "'ilsärin called after Ellasar (Gen 14:1)"408-409

It is therefore not possible at the moment to decide the matter. See also S. Lieberman, *Tosefeth Rishonim*, Part II (Jerusalem 1938), p. 281. Add here also the form 'dn (H) "man" 299 30, 36, 585, 617, 635, 652, 706. This form is found also in mss. of the Mishnah and of the Palestinian Talmud (Epstein, MNM, p. 1230).

Other spellings:

S/w' (H) "that it is not" 'l') 599; gw' "inside" 247 are similar to the orthography of the Dead Sea Scrolls (cf. Epstein, *ib.*, p. 1246). y for h: mrmy by (H) "you deceive me" 776 (2 x); m5ry (H) "cause to dwell" 482. 'n (= 'yn) (H; negative particle): 860 (2 x; the second time "corrected" by an inserted y), 957, 964, 968, 973 (vocalized 'en), 979, 1018; w'ny "and I am not" (= w'yny) 993, 1019 ("corrected" to w'yny). The interesting spelling jlyprw:sym (H) "of (a band) of brigands" 699 shows that the possessive particle *jel* was still pronounced together with the following word; cf. m!tw jljlmh "Solomon's bed" (Song 3:7).—

The Noun pm —pwm "mouth": This word may serve to show to what an extent the ordinary editions of GA texts were "corrected." In the Babylonian Talmud the only form is pwm; in CPA and SA pm27 (in CPA also pym).

According to the readings in the ordinary GA texts the form is pwm (Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 201) against the other Western Aramaic dialects. However, in FPT the form is always pm, pym vocalized pem, pcm,

e.g. 19, 20 (several times), 21, 33, 34, 44, etc. The one instance of pum 58 (see *ib.*, n. 2) is probably a late vocalization. (Most of the fragment is unvocalized.) The form pwm occurs in the last fragment (p. 63) which is a

27 This is the translation in the Samaritan Targum everywhere for Hebrew ph, Dr,

Z. Ben-Uayyim confirms this for me from his own lexical files. Interestingly, Cowley, *SL, Glossary*, s. P. pwm, lists the plural pmmyh as belonging to a singular pwm. The few instances of pwm in CPA are either errors in reading or are influenced by Syriac• See: Th.

Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*,
Strassburg 1910'

p. 177, n. 5, where a detailed treatment of this word and its Semitic cognates is given•

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30 (e) OF

for the day of Passover. However, this fragment related to PTS of the liturgical poems mentioned there by Kahle which all of Eastern influence. Examples from YFG: pm 423, 621,

138, l. 2199; YELi 12931. Whereas in YFG pwm occurs in only one of the examples, in the first the glance printed it is strange editions that — pym never occurs in the

however, if we take into account the difficulty of distinguishing *and y* in manuscripts, the question arises whether we should read *pym* in all or most of the places where *pwm* occurs. The evidence

V seems to bear out this supposition.

V: 197 (2%) (*Ipwm*, not *Ips*), 681, 694, 721, 952. On p. 197, L also *pm*; however, the editor "corrected" it to *pwm*! The only definite examples of *pwm* in V are the following: 170, 247 (2 X), 767. At first glance *pym* does not seem to occur in the *variae lectionis*; however, wherever it indeed occurs it was either not properly recorded or not recorded at all: 'nh pill *pymy* "I open my mouth" 696, is clearly visible on photograph, but is not recorded at all. On p. 712 read: *Ipmyh* "into its mouth," and not *Ipwmyh*. The reading *Ipmyh* in L was again "corrected" by the editor. Similarly read: *bpymh* "in his mouth" 813. The form *bpwmh* is given for Ms. Z (a Geniza fragment), which most likely should be read *bpymh*. On p. 694, *Ipmyh* "to his mouth" was clearly "corrected" in Ms. V to *Ipwmyh*. The reading *pwm* or *pym* is uncertain on

934. On p. 101 l. 1, the reading appears closer to *pwm* than to *pym*. Since in literature under discussion every [01 is noted by *w*, but not every (el by is clear that *pm* = *pym*, but not *pwm*, In light of these examples we may (the previous paragraph) express our doubts as to whether *pwm* is really *Pym*. As to

the certain occurrences of pwm, they are to be
ateither to the beginning of Eastern influence (TO?)
or to the

shows to what a great extent the ordinary
texts were "corclarification of the correct
form of this word may lead to conclusions in
several directions. Firstly, it becomes clear
regard the unity of the three Middle Western
Aramaic dialects was supposed, since we find
pm in all of them (The will be reached in
succeeding paragraphs.) Secondly

Therefore, in its present form the text Of To cannot

Moreover, this is important for
establishing

The spelling in DA, in Elephantine Aramaic, and in th'e

ancient Aramaic inscriptions (e.g. Nerab 2, L 4) is the orthographic rules of these documents (as opposed to GA), nothing

does not belong to the class. However, in the word is *punt*. Therefore, even though nothing can be learnt about the provenance of the biblical consonantal text, the vocalization clearly points to a Ionian tradition. Mishnah Abot V, 23 the text is vocalized *Baby*

according to Ms. Kaufmann A 50.

br-hyryyh—br ltyryn "freeman": br hyryyh 1137, hyryn though br ltwryyh 1055 it may be a correction (in a Hebrew sage: wbn lawrym "h kllYrwtw "The freeman acted in accordance with his freedom" 1240 (2 X) This form is not a corruption. In CPA the form is br &ryn with a dot under the which indicates an i-vowel or the like. This is, therefore, a form related to Mishnaic Hebrew herüt "free.

byy&h — by" "sick person": This word was "corrected" under the influence of Aramaic bys "bad": 'bymy hwh mbqr byy5yh "Abimi used to visit the sick" 125 is the reading in L (Ms. V is deficient in this chap. ter). The editor put the reading by5yyh in the basic text. But on p. 853, according to V: byyjn "sick" (f.pl.). This is undoubtedly the correct form since byyS occurs in FPT, in CPA (sometimes spelled b'j), and in SA (e.g. 'bwk bh'S "your father is sick" Samaritan Targum to Gen 48:1; in the Samaritan orthography h '). I also found this "correction" in a manuscript. I checked the first example in Ms. V2, and it appears that the original reading byyjh was crossed out and "corrected" above the line to

bySyyh. Also, Kohut in AC, s.v. bys, quotes byyjyh from the Palestinian Talmud but concludes that it is a corrupt form.

hmwrth "drove of asses," gmlwth "stock of camels," bqwrth "herd of cattle": wyhy ly 'wr w/gmwr . . . lyjnhwn dbryyth hy' &mwrt gmlwth "I have acquired cattle and asses" (Gen 32:6) — This is as people say: A drove of asses, a stock of camels" 892. This is the reading in V and L.

Read, however, with Ms. G (a manuscript close to V): gmlwth .This reading is found also in Midrash Haggad0129: &mwrt' gmlwt' (according to Ms. Q). It is clear that these readings are correct, since it is impossible to imagine how the common ending —wt could have been corrupted. The

see: Cowley, AP

28 For Biblical Aramaic, see: Gesenius-Buhl, s.v.; for Elephantine,

Index, s.v, pm; for Nerab, see: G.A. Cooke, A . Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions, Oxford 1903, p. 179.

29 Ed. M. Margulies, Jerusalem 1947, p. 562.

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parallcls these two forms: wrht '(brhm) lbqwrh ' 'And Abra-

form b

ham ran to the herd of cattle" (referring to Gen 18: 7: ' 'And Abraham ran to the cattle") FPT 49. In my opinion, the noun pattern here is qōtvllā which occurs in Biblical Hebrew as a general noun: Vht</dd (Gen '6:14; Job 1:3) "a group of slaves." Compare Arabic jubul/("masses of "30. The relation between this form and bqwrh "herd of cattle" in people

Mishnaic Hebrew should be clarified³¹.

hbšwbh

---- 17dbjwbh "Sunday": This form, without d, is found twice

(p. 689) only in Ms. V. In the first instance (line 1), a d was added above the line (not listed in the variae lectionis); however, in line 6, the form was not "corrected." This form is found in SA: 'bibh (= lib'bh)³². So also in Ma'lūla: liasoppa³³ (also without b) and similarly in modern dia-

lects of Eastern Aramaic³⁴.


nwhr'— nhwrh "light": lidsgy nwhry "one blind man (lit. one of much light)" 1137. (There are erasures in the text. Was the original reading nwhryyh?) In V, R. nwhry — nwhryy "R. Nuhrai" occurs instead of R. nhwr'y, e.g. 834 (3 x), 1133, etc.; sgy nwhryh "the blind man" YFG 4014; R. nwhryy ib. 14813, 238m; YEE 13129, etc. Therefore, in GA the form was nwhrh and not nhwrh. But in CPA the form is nhwr'³⁵. Nothing can be learnt with regard to néhörå (Dan 2:22 Q), even though the GA form occurs in Ma'lūla³⁶.

z'wr—z'yr "small": This is another instructive example. Here also, this concerns not only linguistic editing, but also other problems connected with the correcting of this corruption. z'wr occurs twice in V: 625, 628. According to the photograph, z'wr occurs twice on p. 690. (The foot of the ' touches the bottom of the y. Nevertheless, the letter is longer than y, and the head is that of a w.) No example of z'yr is to be found in V. In YFG, the form z'wrh (name of a Rabbi) mostly occurs instead of , e.g. 199, 11, 1498, 1503, 8, 1561, etc. (This form occurs occasionally even in the printed editions). R, z'wrh "R, Zeorah" in V: 649-650 (3 x) (also R.

z'yrrh). To the extent that the reading R. z\$yrrh in reliable texts

.30 J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semilischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1894, S 195 c.

31 Cf. the dictionaries (following a conversation with the late G. Allon).

32 Cowley, SL, Glossary, s. v. 'bjbh. Jn SA, because of the loss of the gutturals  is common.

33 Spitaler, *Ma'lûla*, p. 116.

34 A.J. Maclean, *A Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac*, Oxford 1901,

35 This cannot be attributed to the influence of Syriac which has nuhrâ. 36 Bergsträsser GIO r.s.vwmhr.

is correct, it may be attributed to the fact bore this name was a Babylonian³⁷. that one of the Rabbis

When it is also noted that in the Jeric ho
inscription³⁸
discovered ab ■

10 years ago, the phrase rbyh wz'wryh "the great and the

found³⁹, it is difficult to escape the conc usion that z'wr suffered the sameout fate as pm — pwm. In CPA, only z'wr occurs. In SA this form occurs⁴⁰. This is the case also in Ma'1ü1a⁴¹. , apparently It is nowOnly(fr) ■ clear that in Western Aramaic the form was and not

Dura-Europos⁴³. *A priori* t e form zé'éärä found in BA (Dan 7:8) and in the Targum clearly points to the Eastern

of these documents. ■ Eastern I

In actual fact the matter is much more complicated. There is no con. tradiction in the form z'yryyh YFG 29 6, z'yryn 2802 "small ones," since it may be assumed that the y is actually a w. However in FPT we find: zé'eyrä' kazé'eyrüteh 20 (Gen 43:33); zé'erå' 21 (Gen 44:12; so lized); z'yirth 34 (Gen 29:18); z'yrrh 47 (Gen 49.29; 33). (There is no reason to doubt Kahle's reading, especially regarding the vocalization.) Since at present there is no reason to assume that there is any Eastern influence in FPT⁴⁴, the following conclusion seems inescapable: In at least one Palestinian Aramaic dialect the form z'yr existed. Therefore, the above conclusion with regard to BA and the Targumim is unfounded.

There is also an alternative explanation: Perhaps there is actually no difference between East and

West (i.e. a geo-linguistic difference), but there is a difference between earlier and later forms (i.e. a diachronic difference). A deeper look into the problem shows that Syriac, an Eastern dialect (differing in several points from TA and Mandaic) knows only z'wr, whereas TA knows only the form zyr' z'yr') and that only asa

37 on this name, see: Epstein, MNM, PP. 1297-1302.
38 SY, s.v. yryhw. 39 With regard to the reading, there is no room for doubt. The foot of the be longer as J ascertained from a photograph of the inscription which 1 together with Dr. M. Avi-Yonah.

Intecestingly, 40 See, e.g. the Samaritan — Targum to Lev 25:52; z'yr (for which there is no Cowley, SL, Glossary, s.v. z'r lists one example: z'wr reference!). OKIei1, Je

Bergsträsser, Glossar, p. 104.
42 Brockelmann, GVG, J, p. 353, says simply; "1m westararn. JecusJleii1 1940, syr. z^eōr entspricht." See infra.

43 E.I.. Sukenik, The Synagogue of Dura Europos and its Frescoes, p. 160 (Hebrew).
44 See above, S la 2.

MS. VAT. (e

OF

45. It does not exist as an adjective, and apparently is nonname personal Mandaic. As far as can be ascertained from Maclean's 46, the form in Modern syriac derives from zé'ör. on the hand in Ancient Aramaic, i.e. in

with regard to TO and TJ to the Prophets which know only z'yr this is quite interesting. The hypothesis, therefore, is approximately as In Ancient Aramaic the

form which dominated was z'yr. The ^{follows:} form z'yr⁵T arose in one (which one?) of the dialects and replaced z'yr⁵J.

The form z'yr survived, on the one hand, only in the ancient sources as a rare form in the west in FPT⁵ and, on the other hand, in the personal name z'yr' zyr' mainly in the East.

^{'ydh — 'yd'} 'the hand': This form occurs on p. 1247. It is found in and in BR 264 in Mss. V2 (before correction) G K: 'yd l'yd "'hand to hand." This is the form also in SA52 and CPA53.

Inc-- Y'Y "resin": &wmr q!yp &mwry w!rw 1135, is given as an explanation of nk't Fry "balm, gum" (Gen 43:11). (rw is the Aramaic form parallel to Hebrew y•y. In both Syriac yw' (determined form) and Arabic drw, w and not y occurs⁵⁴. With regard to q!yp /gmwry, cf. hm'rb

45 Epstein, MNM, p. 1302.

46 Maclean, op. cit. (p. 23, n. 34), p. 88.

47 See the references in Cowley, AP, Index.

48 This dialect is in intention a continuation of Official Aramaic. For the time being, cf. Rosenthal, AF, p. 92.

49 Cantineau, GPE, p. 107.

50 This dialect, like Nabatean, at first glance is but a branch of Official Aramaic, even though it possesses many late traits. For a summary, see: Rosenthal, AF, p. 101 ; in greater detail, see: idem, SPI, p, 105.—

51 Zé'ér is a Semitic qu!ayl-form; zé'ör a Semitic qu!äl-form. Both are diminutive forms. See: Brockelmann, GVG, I, 135,

137. In my opinion, it is highly doubtful whether Brockelmann (following Barth) is correct in taking BH zé'ér as a borrowing from Aramaic (ibid., p. 352). The examples of qé!él in the Aramaic dialects as listed by Brockelmann are no more numerous than those in Hebrew. If we find two forms in Aramaic we may pose the following question: Is the opposite, perhaps, true? Perhaps Official Aramaic borrowed this word (i.e. zé'ér) from Hebrew-Phoenician, but later on the original Aramaic word (i.e. z&ör) (to the extent that this root was preserved at all!) replaced it. At the moment, there is no proof for this opinion, just as there is no proof for the opposite assumption,

52 Cowley, SL, Glossary, s,p, 'd. See also the Samaritan Targum for Hebrew yd.

\$3 Schulthess, Grammatik, p, 44, Also in Ma'lüla: Bergsträsser, Glossar, p. 19. 54 Jn detail, see: Low, Flora, JIJ, P, 391. As he points out, ibid., p. 394, the word is apparently a loanword in Aramaic.

hlb hmw bqlp (Sifra (ed. Weiss), p. 28a) and Löw
matter, however, requires further study.

explanation'

Numerals

Some new forms of several numerals are worthy of attention.

tryyn — tryy — trn "two" (m.); trtyytn — trtyy ---- trtn "two" The spelling with yy (e.g. 330 (3 X), 455, 5695 1264) shows that the pronunciation was approximately [*térayin]. The spelling tryy 30 is also found; trtyyn 327, 357, 411, 427; also troy 1176, 1177, 1285. The forms trtyy are definite GA forms and are not due to Babylonian influence. Further on it will be shown that in GA (and even in Ma'lüla), n was apocopated after the diphthong ay in word-final position. Of course, nothing can be learnt of the pronunciation from the following forms: tryn 307, 368, 511 (2><; second time dittography), 527, 536, 729 (2x), 969, 1236, 1241; trtyn 157, 327, 360, 1183 (2 x), 1261, 1262.

It should be pointed out that trtn also occurs: 814, 855, 959, 1262. In

YFG 425 tryyn; however, the prevalent form is tryne. 423, 176, 112 15317, 1708, 2162, 24931. Also: trtyn 15720, and even troy 20525 YFE 124; YFL 248, 259; also trtyn 244, 245; tryn 244, 257. In Ginze Schechter: tryn 390, 435; try (apparently == tryy) 427; trtyn 406 (2 X); trty (apparently trtyy) 394⁵⁶. Just as it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion from these forms, so also from the following forms in Palestinian deeds: tryn (Tarbiz, IX (1938), p. 28); trtyn (ib., p. 26).

In FPT the prevalent form is tryyn 19, 41, 51, 52 (3 x), 55, 61 (vocalized: térayn. Did the vocalizer at least read [*téray]?); also trtyn 10, 52; 10.

tryhwn — trwyhwn "the two of them": This word again exemplifies clearly the problems connected in clarifying the original form of GA. In CPA, only tryhwn is found (so also in Syriac) and similarly in SA51. (The form does not

survive in Ma'lūla.) In the Babylonian Talmud the form is /rwyyh^w, i.e. with an additional w.

55 Ibid., p. 371.

55a While this article was in press, I received D.S. Loewinger's article, 'New ments from the Yerushalmi Pesahim ch. 5—7', Alexander Marx Jubilee York 1950, pp. 237-286, This reliable text will be designated as YFL. I would thank Prof, Loewjnger for sending me an offprint of this article.

56 See *infra*, n, 60.

57 Cf. the Targum of 'nyhm (e.g. Num 7:13; etc.).

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What is the situation in GA? According to (Gratil"atik, p. both forms exist. However, in Y PG in practically every case try!tyv'l

10, o, 20, 3, 31 46, 694, 794, '2931, 13013, 1598, II, 206N. 20911, 2337, 24222, 29-34, 2442 AQ far r compared, occurs in these places in the regular edition! Cf. also.'

0, 125. trqyhu•n OCCURS in Y FE 23; however, as Lieberman proven. this fragment belongs to Maimonides' Laws of the Palesti'liat

It is interesting to note how Maimonides grafted the Baby-

Ionian form onto that of the Palestinian Talmud. (pwm is also found in these Laws!) Thus, according to the data from these two reliable texts, may unequivocally conclude that trwyhwn (as pwm) is due to the copyists.

The situation in V complicates matters somewhat. On the one hand we find tryhwn: 162, 248, 250, 274, 302, 428, 539, 125459. On p. 3024, this is given as V's reading in the varia lectionis; however, read according to the photograph: dtryhwn (a corruption for dtryhwn). trilyhw•n 1055, according to the photograph, seems to have been corrected from tryhwn by a later hand.^a There are, however, at least five certain occurrences of trwyhwn in V: 537, 703, 1254, 1255 (2 X). It seems to me that if there is no "correction" here — a matter which is difficult to clarify from the photograph — this should be considered the beginning of the tendency to replace tryhwn by trvyhwn. This tendency is also in evidence in another reliable text — albeit the least reliable one⁶⁰ — viz. Ginze Schechter which has only trwyhwn: 420, 425 (2 X ; in the parallel in TY: tryhwn!); however, tryhwn in the Yerushalmi fragments published ibid.: 440, 441, 443; tryhwn also in YFL 271, 283. When we take into account the tendency to replace this form with trwyhwn we must

conclude that according to the evidence of the best reliable text only tryhwn is

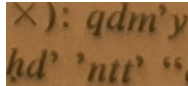
58 S, Lieberman, *The ofthe Yerushalmi*, New York 1947 (Hebrew). [This was pointed out to me by the late J.N. Epstein.]

59 The following example (p. 162) demonstrates how a Western form "develops" into an Eastern form: Ms. V tryhwn; L trwyhwn; R trwwyhwn. These forms still preserve word-final n as in GA, but we find already in OL trwyhw and in 02

60 This refers the "Abridged of the Yerushalmi," Gs, 1, pp. 429-430. The abridger included also a portion in Babylonian Aramaic (pp. 392-393).

several places he is not particular with regard to Palestinian orthography, e.g. pp. 402

"Yannai," for pp. 391, 427, 428 (2 X); "first," for (but

(2 P. 428). There are also errors, e.g.  "one woman" p. 403, as

authentic. The "editorial" tendency is clearly shown in the following example. In V. Ber. 116. l. 11, according to the Leyden Ma. from which the Venice edition was printed, the reading is *tryhwn*. This reading was "corrected" in the manuscript to *tryhwn*, and that is the form which was printed. According to V², p. 539, the original reading was *tryhwn*, but this was "corrected" in the manuscript to *tryhwn* (so vocalized!).

Here again the matter is not so simple. In Palmyrene both *tryhwn* and *tryhwn* occur⁶¹. This would justify the assumption that both forms existed in GA; however, since this dialect was influenced to a great extent by Eastern Aramaic⁶² the evidence of Palmyrene is inadmissible. In light of the above-mentioned proofs it seems clear that only *tryhwn* existed in Western Aramaic, and *tryhwn* is due to the copyists.

šth — *yšth* "six": *šthyn* — *yšthyn* "sixty": *yšth* 814 (so also in Z, a Geniza fragment); so also in FPT 51, 59 (2×); in a Geniza fragment published by Landauer⁶³: *yšth ywmyn* (l. 1), *šth ywmyn* (l. 6) "six days." This is the spelling also in CPA. *yšthyn* YFG 256₁₅ "sixty", but Ma. V 362: *šthyn*. But as the Aramaic inscription from Zoar shows, this is also a Palestinian spelling⁶⁴: *šth th m' wšthyn* "the year 360."

šb'h — *šb'h* "seven": *šb'h* 683, and so always in FPT, e.g. 52, 53, (2×), etc.; *šb'yn* "seventy" YFG 256₂₀; and so in CPA and in Ma'lūla:

š'šry(?) pwlryn "for ten follerons (a coin)": On p. 503 read twice: *š'šry pwlryn*. This form occurs also in FPT: *š'rt* "ten," *šb't* "seven"; with a noun in the determinate state: *šb'ty twryyh* "the seven oxen" *ib.* 46. This form occurs also in CPA. See also Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 129. The usage here in V with a noun in the absolute state is strange. The following also is an example of a numeral in the determinate state: *šltyy hwnyyt* "the three others (f.pl.)" 446. If the orthography is accurate, the pronunciation is [ay] and not [ē]. This form occurs also in CPA.

61 Rosenthal, *SPI*, p. 81.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 105, and note.

63 S. Landauer, 'Ein interessantes Fragment des Pseudo-Jonathan', *Festschrift A. Harkavy*, St. Petersburg 1908, p. 21.

64 Kedem, II (1945), Inscription A, p. 84, l. 6. Perhaps the reason for this is the initial *w*; cf. the form *wrb* (= *w'rb*) "and four", *ibid.*, l. 7. Cf. also *wrymwnh* (= *w'rymwnh*) "and they removed it" YFO 169₁₃. Cf. also the pronunciation of the *šewa* in the words *šete*, *šetaylm*, *šetēhen*, *šetēhem*, by the Tiberian Masoretes as *'etē*, *'etaylm*, etc. (Kahle, *MdW*, I, p. 37).

The Verb

/nf/li/ive of the pea/
conjugation: Darman (Grammatik,
p. 279) states that the pö'al infinitive
is both mq!l (miq/a/) and mqrvt.
The only form in TO is mq(/. This
fact alone is enough to arouse
suspicion. And, in fact, only mq!w/
occurs in FPT,a Even when the
orthography is defective, the
vocalization indicates the
pronunciation of the form, e.g.
/mf'wn ' 'to claim" 7• , Imq/wl "to
kill" ib.; lémcgzor" to circumcize"
11 (bot.), /émehkom "to know" 19;
mcqsowm "to divine" 20 (bot.), 21
(but used as a noun bémagzar "in
circumcizing" 11!); Imdhwl "to fear"
27; etc. In light of these examples, it
seems reasonable to assume that
even in unvocalized texts when there
is no w the pronunciation was still
In V almost all of the examples
which come into consideration (see
below) are written with w.
Moreover, when the spelling was
defective, a later hand (vo) added a
w: 1m"wl "to ask" 37, 932, 951 (V0);
Imkws "to slaughter" 601; mswq "to
ascend" 974; Imzbwn "to purchase"
906; mymwr "to say" 305; Im&swl
"to complete" 907 (2 X) (The
reading was put in the basic text);
Imq/wl "to kill" 1128; Imjrvv' "to

trip, fall down" 1241; mmrd "to rebel" 712, corrected by v^o to mmrwd. We even find m'bwd "to do" 665. (This form is vocalized in FPT 11: Im'bed, since the imperfect and the infinitive is presumably dependent on the imperfect is [ne'bed] in Aramaic.) Also with suffixed pronouns: mzqwpynyh "to lift him up" 1238. Examples without w: Imyqrb, Imqrb "to

approach" 389; Imj'l "to ask" 931; Imymr "to say" 239, 240, 271, 834. Examples with w from YFG: mprvvs^v "to distinguish" 7437; mq?w' "to cut" 8232; mj'wl "to ask" 15827; my'wl "to enter" 17016; mj&wq "to

crush 1726,7; mlbwj "to dress" 18119', Imnhwg "to act"

1

825; m'bwr "to cross" 2047; mswq "to ascend" 23242; Imtpws "to grasp" 25716 |

With a suffixed pronoun: mq! wlynyh "to kill him" 176. Without w: m'bd (d "to do" 1591 (see above); mifmé' "to hear" 10420 (so vocalized); mzbyn "to purchase" 13819 is probably mzbwn. YFE: mykwl "to eat" 16. Examples from a Yerushalmi fragment (not from the Geniza) published by Freimann in Tarbiz,

VI (1935); mymwr "to say" 601 6, 621 7', but mymr 6227, Without w: msbnh "to take it" YFE 17. Examples from YFL: mymwr "to say" 256, 257, 258; mymr "to say" 258, 260 (4 X), 270, 276, 278, 282 (mymr also occurs in V). mymr occurs also in FPT, e.g. 56 (Ex

The Imperfect and Imperative of the pé\$al: Since the infinitive was apparently influenced by the imperfect, it is not surprising to find most of the imperfect and imperative _forms pronounced w

third radical is a guttural. This tendency stands out in somewhat less in Ma'lūla⁶⁶.

Imperfect: dyz'u,p "that he should be angry" 689; should purchase" 362 (so also in the basic text);

952; nswq "I will go up" 296.

Imperative: SM'q ' 'go up!"⁶⁷ 520 (in the basic text sq);

17/01771 "leave "know!" alone!" 1045; 389; 1b"" miwg "dress!" "pluck!" 197 (2 447; x);

šbwq

Without w: q/' "cut off" 444 (in the basic text qtw% Is this

tb' "claim" 452 (2 ×; in the basic text tbw').

Examples from FPT: wéyij'ol "and he will ask" 10 (Gen yqrwb "he will approach" 56 (Ex 19:12); ytwqp "he will be strong" 57 (Ex 19:22); from YFG: yswq "he will go up" 18421; zbwn "purchase!" 1946; smwk "rely!" 19424. The form ytbw' "he will claim" occurs in Palestinian writ, Tarbiz, IX (1938), p. 196.

qā!ölforms: This form is very widespread both in the Western and in the Eastern Aramaic dialects. It first appears in BA: kāröz "herald" (Dan 3:4) and is found in Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew (also in Arabic). It is used as a nomen agentis, and as such, its meaning is close to that of the participle. In fact, in SA this form actually displaced the participle⁶⁸, In Ms. V the situation is similar. Examples: n!wr hwwyn' "I was guard. ing" 917; 'nh 'rys 'bwr 'nh. . . 'nh bSr 'bwr "I am a transient tenant farmer ...I am transient flesh" 665; lyt twrh ngwjh (so according to the photograph; not ngyjh) 'd dbrth b'w/h "no cow is a gorer until her calf (lit. daughter) is a kicker" 952—953; dyhwnn qywmyrn "that they should be standing" 689; hwwy zrw' hwwy nswb "Be a seeder! Be a planter!" 702 (This reading was placed in the basic

text); pkwr 'tr'yyh "an uprooter of the gates" 753, .
 Apparently also the following: mh d't mlwg mlwg
 "whatever you pluck, pluck!" 447, Perhaps also the
 following: qbw' hy' yykh "she needs talisman" 448; jry
 nhwg "he began acting" 307; yrwth "the
 inheritor" 1002. 599 (This reading was placed in the
 basic text); rdwpyn "pursuers

65 Schulthess, Grammatik, p, 61, 2c,

Spitaler, Ma'lūla, p. 145.

67 The passage quoted refers to a woman, and the expected form should have swqy; however, since in Ma'lūla the final y of the 2 f. sg. imperfect and imperative has disappeared, it may be assumed that this was the case here also and no error, Cf. the following example from "Palestinian Halachic Practices l'ntm qrbw "And they say to the woman; 'Approach, remove (his shoe)!'

(Tarbiz, 1/1 (1930), p. 100).

68 Cowley, SL, p. xxxviii.

Used as a noun: drw& (Il) "pteachet" 1262; qywmyyh "the inhabitants (lit. the standing ones)" 292; hnwqh "the strangler" 916.

Pronouns hymen "they (m.)" : In Ms. V the form with h occurs very 'ynu•n often (and so — mostly in CPA)69: hynwn 184 (basic text: Synwn), 196, 236, 266 (basic text: 327, 374, 378, 446, 639, 663, 7119 916, 930, 951, 1257, etc.; 273, 301, 307, 360, 813 917. In the Noaran inscription70 (l. 8): dhynwn. In the el-Hammeh inscription71 (1. 1)'. hnnwn.

The feminine form hynyn also occurs: 813 (2 X), 1241 ; but 'nyn 937 (2 X).

'ylyk 'ylyn "those": 'ylyk 650 (basic text: 'ylyn). In CPA the form is hlyk72 (and see Dalman, Grammatik, pp. 112 {6; 113); lhdk ym' 'Gto that sea" 34 (so also in the basic text. Is this h— -l- BA dek?).

2f.sg. possessive pronoun: This is generally written with y: 'ymyk (basic

text: 'ymk) "with you" 812, 838; d'ymyk (basic text: d'mk) "of your mother" 815; bryk "your son" 247; lyk (basic text: 1k) "to you" 247 (2 x), 947 (2 x), 1232; mrglytyk "your pearl" 948; ksyrytyk "your ." 948 qwltyk "your pitcher" 1232; bbytyk "in your house" ibid.; etc.

2f.sg. independent pronoun: V seems to be the only manuscript which has preserved the Ancient Aramaic form 'ty "you" 1182 (2 x). Dalman (Grammatik, p. 106) records only 't ('t also occurs in V, p. 247.) In CPA the form 'ty is also preserved.

Particles gb "towards"; When used with singular sumxed pronouns, the singular form is employed; however, with plural suffixed pronouns and in the construct state, the plural form is generally employed. E.g.: gbk "towards

you (sg.)," but gbykm "towards you (pl.)" ; gby "towards." This is not the case in V. Here the singular form is found also before plural suffixed pronouns and in the construct state. Examples: Igb "towards" 1095, 1178; Igb rbynw "towards our

teacher (i.e. R. Judah, the Prince)" 306, 761; gb dydy "towards me" 1143; gbi@ "towards us" 817; gbhwn "towards them" 648, 930. The following plural forms also occur; Igby rbynw

69 Schulthess, Grammatik, p. 32.

70 S Y, p. 109, s.v. nw'rn. .

71 S Y, p. 46, S.P. km/ gdr. Incidentally, there is no reason to assume an error here. The n of hnwn -'nwn is doubled, and this is occasionally indicated in Rabbinic sources by writing the letter twice. Cf. Epstein, MNM, p. 1258.

72 Schulthess, Grammatik, p, 33,

"towards teacher" 761; /gby R. R.

'towards you (pl.)" 302. Incidentally,

t e Eastern Aramaic form! should however be pointed out that in Ma'lüla m suffixed plural pronouns including gb occur in ost the prepositions with ples from YFG: 'towards them" j; '1 gb top of" 1602;



bhdy "with": This preposition occurs three times in BR (338 (2 x), and only in V. This is quite puzzling since this is an Eastern Aramaic word par excellence. Did V preserve a form which disappeared from the other Western dialects? I suspect not. This is probably a conscious borrowing from the Babylonian Talmud.

lyyd "to": This preposition occurs in SA, CPA, and as a survival" to us"

in Mishnaic Hebrew. Here it occurs in the meaning "to": lyyd n 301 (in the basic text l h k' "to here"); lydy y 'yytth "(if) you bring (lit. brought) it to me" 262.

h l k '1 k "hither": h l k 730, 840; similarly in YFG.

The tendency of GA to append n to indeclinable words ending in an open syllable is well known⁷⁴. Therefore, the following forms should be preferred: sgyn (basic text: sgy) "many" 817, 1241; kmn "many more times" 1128; twbn "again" 1183 (5 X); however, sgy "many" 306; kmh "how many" 172.

Dalman⁷⁵ was of the opinion that the adverbial ending -yt found extensively in Syriac and CPA (See Schulthess, LS) did not exist in GA. Therefore, he considered the forms !b'yt, (byt "well" to be corruptions. Ms. V refutes this opinion: !b'yt 894, 1126; however, !b'wt 302.

Miscellanea

In the story of Emperor Diocletian and the Rabbis, the Emperor concludes with the following words: l' tbsw l' brwmyy z'wr WI' bgwlyyr z'}vr "Do not make fun of a low Roman or even of a low galearius (common soldier)" 690. As is well known, the form of the 3 m.pl. imperfect in GA and in the other Western Aramaic dialects as well as in ancient

Aramaic — was yqllwn. In this respect, I do not believe that I have found any errors in V. Then why do we find here tbsw (and not tbsyvn)? It

73 Spitaler, Ma'lüla, p, 53.

74 Dalman, Grammatik, p. J 02.⁰ 75
Grammatik, p, 21 J (top).

should. however, be recalled that in Ancient Aramaic the negative imperative appears in the shortened form *yqfiw*, e.g. 'al yi/Ētannō ' 'let (thy countenance) not be changed" (Dan 5:10). (The negative particle 'l of PA 16 docs not occur in GA.) Could this example be a survival of this vsagc? It should be remembered that the words are put in the mouth of an empcror, who would most likely speak ' 'good" Aramaic! Nevertheless, this assumption is somewhat far-fetched, since the time interval between thc5C two dialects is nearly a thousand years, and there are no examples in either Palmyrene or Nabatean, dialects closer to Ancient Aramaic'

Vocabulary

Besides the various words mentioned above, two additional words

found only in V should be mentioned: 1) *qy!rn* ("a type of resin" 1021. Krauss in AAC already commented on this word, though in an unclear manner. This form occurs in Arabic (from which it was borrowed into other languages). This spelling raises the problem of the relationship between *qy!rn* and '!'rn; 2) *h'tn&t'* "the pausal stop" 342. If this is not a later addition, this seems to be the earliest source for this word.

V also helps clarify a word in Biblical Hebrew. On p. 1232, we read about R. Hananya b. Hachinai who studied under R. Akiba for thirteen years in Béne Bérak and "did not know what had been going on in his home" (WI' hwh yd' mh bbytyh). How then did he recognize his family when he returned to his city? 'zlh⁷⁸ Imlyth 5m' qlhn dmlwwtyh 'mrn btw jlåkynyy mlyy qwltyk wswq lyk "He went to the mlyth and heard the voice of the women water-drawers saying: 'Daughter of Hachinai? Fill your pitcher and go up!' " It is clear that the mlyth is "the place of water-drawing." This word is identical with ml't in Song 5:12: 'ynyw kywnym 'l 'pyqy mym rw/gswt blilb ywjbwt 'l ml't "His eyes are like doves beside the water-brooks, washed

with milk, set by the watering place." Since no parallel of ml 't has been known⁷⁹ until now, its meaning was doubtful, This story clarifies both its meaning and its etymology.

B-L, p. 89.

.77 See: S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 150. 78 'zlh is not an error and should not be corrected to 'zl. This is a sandhi-writing for 'zllh; cf. 'zyl lyh \$ 'he goes away" 502; dyyzl lh "that he should go away" 1145; etc. This usage is common in GA in other intransitive verbs and became the rule in Ma'lūla.

79 See: Gesenius-Buhl, s, v. ml'.

IN GALILEAN

"Kötib and Qére"

A singular feature of V should be pointed out heres viz. a type of "kötib and qöre." This applies to Ill—y verbs which are etymologically

III- verbs. In these instances, the orthography on the one hand is

representing historic ----- preserving the and on the other, phonetic the correct pronunciation as a Ill—y form. Thus, apparent mixed forms result: bry'y "my creator" 556 (2 X) is actually [*bāray]. The historic ' is written in the Ill-y form. Similarly for the root qrh (= qr') "to call"% gry'yn "they (m.pl.) call" 686, is actually [qārayin], a Ill—y form with an added '. So also according to the photograph qr'yyn "they call" 763. In the Hebrew text: my'ynw (i.e. mynw) "we found" 383, 477; mwy'yn "they (m.pl.) take out" 513. The original form mwy'yn became *mwym Also ntF'wy "common" (lit. found) 1265 (2 X); ns'wy "married" 609.

Various Corrections

Clarification of the method in which corrections were introduced into the text is apt to be of help both linguistically — as shown above — and exegetically. Consider the following examples: nykwł dydyh wnyyhkw 'lwy "Let us eat of his (food) and mock him" 699. V's reading nyyhkw perplexed me, since I was unable to explain the form. Moreover, it is very doubtful whether this root existed in GA. A glance at the photograph dispelled my doubts. It was clear that the original word had been tampered with and erased. From the remnants of the letters it is certain that the original reading was nd/gwk. The root dllk "to mock" is used in GA alongside g/gk80 (cf. e.g. BR, p. 48).a One of the readers of Ms. V who did not recall the root "corrected" the d to yy giving nyy&wk. The "corrector" was familiar with the form &yyk

"laugh" — common in the Babylonian Talmud and in TO, and — from a grammatical point of view created a mixed form.

With regard to the "corrections," the story on pp. 931—932 is very instructive: qm nsb skyn' lh hdsqryn(!) ' 'He stood up, took the knife and returned the saucer to her." The fact that the whole story is related in Aramaic, but two words in the middle are given in Hebrew, is a clear indication of a "corrected" text. The text in V is w&zr lh dyysqrh in Aramaic. A copyist who understood Izzr as a pé'al-stem "corrected" it

Ito the hiph'il hozyr. (Jn several mss. the Babylonian Aramaic form vvhdr

80 Dissimilation?

Tm. OF

in GAM. welt in SAO, htr in the pa"et stem return, give back." The following tute holds true: A Hebrew word in nn Arnmnic context indicates that the text has been tampered with.

is the key to the solution of another unclear text. On p. 1 144, a story is rclatcd about an innkeeper in the who use southern region of Palestine to conspire

brigands to fob his guests. He would awaken his guests in the middle 'ny 'brh. of the Albeck night with correctly the following understood statement: the passage qwmvvas

- "Get up and go outside! The caravan is passing by (and join mcamng. it!)" (2 x). Several mss. read 'bdh "makes (f.sg.)" which is a corruption. According to Albeck the superfluous word 'ny ('n') "I" was added here.

'n' occurs in V and L which read 'brh (in V once: 'bdh)! How did this word find its way into these manuscripts? More importantly, how is it possible that an accurate manuscript like V should suddenly insert a Hebrew form 'ny into an Aramaic context in which the other manuscripts give Aramaic 'n'? It is clear that the scribe of V corrected something which was incomprehensible to him. But what was the reading before him?

The matter is clarified by the reading in Midrash Haggadol (ed. Margulies), pp. 743—744, and in the Sepher Ha-Maasiyoth (ed. Gaster), p. 127. The reading there is dlwy'th 'y'brh. This reading is comprehensible. As S. Lieberman has shown⁸³, the form 'y + the participle occurs in the Palestinian Talmud,

e.g. 'yll!y "he sins" (= 'y &ty)•, 'y'br "he passes by" (= 'y 'br), etc. The scribe of Ms. V did not understand the meaning of 'y'brh, added an, and divided the word into two giving 'ny 'brh. However, on p. 1238, where there was no possibility of error he correctly copied: 'y'ny (= 'y 'ny)⁸⁴.

Place Names

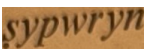
This is not the place to deal with the particular forms of place names in V. In the main, these involve orthographical problems. I will deal here with only a few of the names in order to substantiate my opinion regarding the special nature of V,

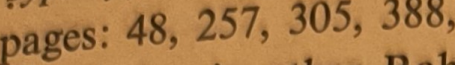
⁸¹ Jn Jlalacholh Kezubolh, attributed to R. Yehudai Gaon (ed. M. Margulies), Jerusalem 1942 (Hebrew), p. 24, the editor quotes examples of lizr liltzyr•, e.g. &wzryn 'WI/i sbwrh "they return that merchandise," etc. Is this because the Aramaic pa"el-form was thought to be a pé'al-form?

⁸² So Cowley, SL, Glossary, s.v. czr ltzr).

⁸³ Tarbiz, IV (1933), p. 293. I intend to deal with this phenomenon elsewhere. ⁸⁴ see Lieberman, *ibid.*; *idem*, Tarbiz, 111 (1932), p. 453.


IN GALILEAN

 "Sepphoris," the Palestinian form of the name (in y,pwry), is an instructive example." This spelling occurs on the following

 pages: 48, 257, 305, 388,

----- occurs once (p. 1234). In the found also in other Rabbinic sources other mss. the Babylonian form fypwry is found⁸⁵,

The form 'spnyyh "Spain" is found on pp. 38, 4465 1271, instead of the regular 'spmyh. This form paralleling Greek ----- is practically non-existent in other Rabbinic sources⁸⁶. This seems to be the only source for the spellings

q'pdwqyyh, qpdwqyyh, qpdwqyy' ⁷⁸⁵

Xia with d, instead qpwlqyy' with l, as in other Rabbinic sources. Also, this seems to be the only source in which the spelling ywrdnws (_ ywrdnys?) ²⁹ 'loeöåvqc, the Greek form of "Jordan," is found⁸⁷. Along side the Palestinian form qysryn "Caesarea," e.g. 194, 557, the Babylonian form qysry also occurs (p. 343), perhaps because this city is not in Galilee.

Exegetical Remarks


There is undoubtedly still room for new explanations of passages in BR based on the text of V. This holds true mainly for readings not listed in the variae lectionis. But even readings which are listed may be utilized further for this purpose. Although this is the task of scholars dealing in Midrash, it seems appropriate to illustrate this statement by a few examples:

- 1) P. 830: wy/gr 'p y'qb . . . rbnn ddrwmh bim R. 'Iksndry wrbn' bim R. 'b' br khn' " 'And Jacob's anger was kindled' (Gen 30:2)— The Rabbis of the southern region (of Palestine) in the name of R. Alexandri and rbn' in the name of R. Abba b. Kahana." This is the reading in the basic text, and Theodor is uncertain of the identity of rbn'. On p. 691: rbnn ddrwmh bon R. 'Iksndry wråbh bs% m R. A.b.K, Here also there is no plausible explanation for rllbh. In both cases the reading dhbh is given for V in the variae


lectionis, But read according to the photograph: rbnn ddrwmh bon R. 'l/csndry wdh/ch bim R, 'b' br khn' "The Rabbis of the southern region in the name of R. Alexandri and of here (i.e. Galilee) in

85 Strangely enough this was not noted in SY,even though the difference was already pointed out by Z, Frankel, Maj'o ha- Ydrasti/mi, Breslau 1870, p. 3b. See at length: S. Klein, Ms, pp. 47, 48. .

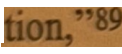
86 S. Krauss, Griechische and lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch, und Targum, Berlin 1898-99, 11, p. 91. 87 Ibid., P. 559.

of R. Abba b. Kahana." The explicit reading rbnn dhV "Rabbis  is in fact found in Midrash laggad0188. of herc

2) r. 190: R. •rZR lgdl lygywn f/zytym bglyl WI'

 Idl tyntcq 'lid Frs y'r'l to raise a lygytt•n of olives in Galilee than to raise a child in PalesThis is the reading in the basic text, but the reading inv is rygywn. This reading raises an interesting problem: Is this the Latin word regio "district"? Or perhaps the r is the result of dissimilation: lgdl lygywn > lgdl r»gywn "to raise a legion"? Both alternatives seem possible. On the one hand the word regio does not seem to be found in Rabbinic sources, and at first glance, it is difficult to understand how a Latin word entered the Midrash here." On the other hand, according to Dr. Shalit, with whom I discussed this problem, this was a technical term of the Roman administration used also in Palestine. The continuation of the story fits this interpretation.

3) P. 336: hw' 'by kn'n 'bwy dp&th " 'And Ham was the father of Canaan' (Gen 8:18) — The father of the degraded person." This is also Vs reading according to the critical apparatus. But according to the

photograph, the reading is clearly: dp&mh "of the charcoal-one." Even though the editio princeps on p. 1277 reads: Sm'wn wlwy '&ym '&ym dp&t' " 'Simeon and Levi are brothers' (Gen 49:5) — Brothers of degrada compare the following passage, p. 341: yh' 'wtw h'YS k'wr wmpwbm "May that man (i.e. Ham) be ugly and black as charcoal." The Midrash (ibid.) further on employs the root in describing Ham. (Is this a play words: — km?)

4) P. 999: bt my zhb sr'dyn hwwn wmn d'trwn 'mrwn mhw dhb' wksp' " 'The daughter of Me-zahab' (Gen 36:39) — They were smiths, and when they became rich they said: "What is gold and silver?" It seems to

me that V's reading is closer to the truth: sr'ryn (== sr'dyn?) hwwn mn d'thwn 'mryn mh hw' d'hb' wmh hw' ksp' "They were smiths and by their knowledge they would decide what is gold and what is silver," i.e. they were experts in this. Jf the reading in Pseudo-Jonathan to this verse re-

O Midrashl'faggadol, Genesis (ed. M. Margulies), Jerusalem 1947 (Hebrew), P. 527. compiler knew chapters of DR which are found only in Ms. V (cf BR Introduction, P. 108). M. Margulies pointed out the following parallel passages to me:

'w rbnn drwmy' "The Rabbis from here or the Rabbis of Darom (the southern region)" (Y. Bcr. 111, 7; M. Kat. 111, 5). see also: W. Bacher, Tradition Tra'denten

1914, P. 604 (pointed out to me by Prot Albeck).

89 see commentary, P. 336, and detailed discussion, P. 1277.

fixes the version in the basic text, then this is further proof for the known fact that this Tatgum absorbed many late additions⁹⁰.

5) P. 1103: wy'mr pr'h . whl'dyk l' yrym 'y} 't ydw klydrynt vv't rglw k lydr)'ll? " 'Pharaoh said (to Joseph): . Without your consent no man shall lift up his hand' (Gen 41 :44) klydrytll', 'and his foot' *(ib.)* — klydryl'l." Cf. Albeck's discussion and his attempt to explain this word. Perhaps the explanation lies in V 's reading which, however, I am unable to explain completely: 't ydw klydrym w't rglvv bldrynt 'his hand' klydrym; 'his foot' ----- couriers." The word b/dr g'runner, courier" (e.g. BR, p. 932) fits the text quoted here perfectly: 't rglw "his foot." But compare Albeck's opinion and explanations which do not agree with my proposed explanation.

6) P. 1260: kbs byyn lb'w Shw' mllbr lhn dbry twrh G' 'He washes his garments in wine' (Gen 49:11) He clarifies the words of the Torah for them."⁹¹ The Midrash here explains the root kbs, which also the Pärtta translates here by the root Invr. The Midrashic explanation is built upon this equivalence.

7) P. 666: b'w bny ySm"l ly'wr 'l y'r'l "The sons of Ismael came to dispute with Israel." Ms. V reads: l'wr 'm y'r'l. Correct accordingly Ms. V on p. 1268: l'wr 'mhm (instead of: l'dr) "to dispute with them." That this is the correct version is shown by the following passage from Elephantine⁹² : wlqblh dyn 'wry 'mh "and in accordance with it (i.e. the deed) contest with him."

Postscript to Ms. V

The foregoing study of Ms. V gives food for thought on the methods of publishing texts of the Aggadic (and other) Midrashim, on which I feel bound to comment here. Firstly, criteria should be laid down by which it can be decided which is the best text, i.e. the one closest to the archetype. It was no accident that Prof. Albeck concluded without using linguistic criteria that Ms. V is the best manuscript with regard to its readings. Dr. J. Schirmann and Prof. U. Cassuto

came to the same COLY clusion as to the nature of the manuscript after a paleographical examina•

90 R, Judah al-Barceloni in Sé/er ha-'lttlm, p. 258: wtrgwm 'ry ysr'l

hgdt zh hwsypw hzyu

\$1hn mimin S 'And as for the Palestinian Targuxn which haggadic additions the cantors added them by themselves" (quoted by S. Lieberrnan, JJazzäilUt ygnnai (Yannai's Liturgical Poetry), Sinai, IV (1939), p. 223b 91 nis is deiinitely the meaning in Ms. V. The use of libr (pi"el) "to compose (a book/" originated in Medieval Hebrew and is a borrowing from Arabic. 92 Cowley, p. 22, J. 27.

(e OV

study proved this fact with regard to the language.

that the language of the text should serve as the primary not the Hebrew of the text since we still do not have of criteria for the Hebrew of the Midrash. The Hebrew of the not a spoken language and, therefore, its nature has to be determined (Biblical, Mishnaic, new elements etc.). Conversely, criterion is apt to further this clarification.


my opinion the Aramaic language of the Midrashim should serve fundamental criterion. For this much is clear: If the language of the Aramaic portions is corrupt, then the text has undoubtedly been tampered with and has not come down to us in its original form. It may, therefore, be concluded that the Hebrew portions are also suspect. This is the case when the Aramaic is in order. In this case it may be assumed that the other portions were also preserved in their original form.

As a result, when the editor of a Midrashic text himself is not a linguist, it is advisable that he should be assisted by a linguist who is an expert in 'western Aramaic. This applies both to the choice of the text to be used as the basic text and to assistance throughout the work. The text which is recognized to be the reliable text should be printed as the basic text even though it may be incomplete. With regard to fragments of reliable texts (i.e. Geniza fragments), if the basic text is not a reliable text it is advisable that these be printed in its place, or at least be printed as an appendix to the edition. In any case, it is not proper, that a reliable text, albeit fragmentary, should be "buried" in the variae lectionis to be forgotten there (cf. infra).

With regard to the method of publication, in my opinion a solution should be found to indicate the blank spaces in the manuscript. Anyone who has read a manuscript knows that occasionally a scribe leaves blank spaces. (This does not refer to the space left between two sections.) These blank spaces are to be found mostly in the middle of a section when the scribe was unable to read the word in the manuscript before him. Sometimes the scribe places dots in the blank space, and sometimes not. Occasionally, the reader can restore the omission from another manuscript, In any event, it is clear that it is extremely important to point out the fact that there is a blank space in the manuscript as well as its length.

The reason for this is that the text is certainly defective at this point⁹³.

special sign should be employed to indicate blank spaces and their

 (from three letters on). The lack of a sign of this type deceives the

⁹³ see, e.g. Epstein, MNM, p. 121 1,

reader as well as the editor of the text in his work. consider the

The last two words are unclear and the editor is unsure of the meaning, and finally says: "And in Ms. V the words do not at all fit in Ms. V there is a blank space which is the length of two The conclusion is that these words were in the text from which the of Ms. V copied, but since they were incomprehensible to him, he skipped over them and left a blank space. Therefore, this is not proof against the

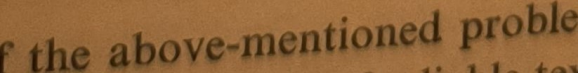
reading (cf. *infra*).

The editors acted wisely in using a special sign to indicate a correction in Ms. V (=V⁰). But it seems to me that there should be an

To judge from the script of the corrections, it appears possible that there were two correctors. The first corrected in a square script in the text itself, and the second, mainly in the margins in Rashi script. The second corrector added to and sometimes completed the text. Both tend towards normalization. For example, the first corrected dybr "(Divine) word" 1237 to dybwr. He apparently corrected &bjwbh "Sunday" once to &dbjwbh (above, p. 23). From this it seems that the terms that he cor-

rected were not completely understood by him. Nevertheless, sometimes

there are actual corrections. The second corrector who wrote in Rashi script was even more extreme. He added on the margin j'wh "wax" 1136, for S'bh in the text. (This is perhaps meant as a gloss.) Therefore, it is perhaps worthwhile to employ sigla to indicate — as far as it is possible to determine — who made the correction, and perhaps also a siglum to indicate whether the correction was made between the lines or in the margin.

An additional suggestion: I mentioned above the blank spaces. Sometimes it appears that part of the blank was filled in afterwards, perhaps by a later hand, since the script, even though square, is not exactly on the line. This seems to be the case with the word b'mtw "in Amathous" 387 (followed by a blank space). Today it is possible to do even more. Many times we encounter erased words, and it is often very important to clarify the nature of the erased word. As has been shown here, the erased word is often the ancient form which was replaced by a newer form. Editors of texts should be able to employ infra-red photographs to clarify such erasures. ms if not all of them .

could be printed solved if photographs of reliable texts could be published along

with the since it is certainly too much to ask of an editor to prepare a special study of each line, such photographs would give

reader the opportunity to clarify all those points which T have mentioned above (blank spaces, additions, etc.). Consider a case in point: Prof. J.N. Epstein asked me to check the following reading in V: bhdh byzrh dkpr hytyyh "In that byzrh of Kefar 728. The late Prof. S. Klein had explained byzrh as equalling by zrh "guest house".⁹⁴ On first reading it seemed to me that this was the reading in V; however, on second reading I noticed that it could be read bhdh, and the first bhdh was slightly erased. The matter still needs further clarification.^a

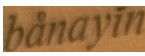
The time has perhaps come to collect photographs of reliable texts in our scientific institutions, at least in the form of microfilms. This should probably be done in the framework of a registration of the Hebrew manuscripts in libraries throughout the world⁹⁵.

One final note: I have quoted a large number of new forms from Ms. V, YFG, etc. The grammatical study of GA has been nil in the last few decades. In the field of Talmudic lexicography, however, a new book, *Additamenta ad Librum Aruch Completum*, was published years after the publication of the above-mentioned material. It is not surprising that the verbal

forms listed above are not given in this work, it certainly is very strange that new forms of words as well as new words found in Ms. V and FPT are not given (except for qy!rn). We may ask ourselves: For whom then are critical editions of basic texts edited?

3. CLARIFICATION OF GRAMMATICAL POINTS

A.  (byt gryyn, "Beth Shearim," etc.)

In BA the m.pl. participle of the verbs ends in -ayin, e.g.  "building" (Ezra 5:4), etc¹. The parallel form in the other verbal

classes is -in, viz. qā/ölin "killing." Except for the Ill-y verbs, the form in GA is the same as in BA. The same applies to nouns: malkin "kings" (not malké) with final n, as the reliable texts show². In the ordinary texts n is often missing, since in TA the m.pl. participle has the form qtly. The copyists of the Palestinian Talmud were influenced by the dialect which they knew better, viz. TA. Except for a few occurrences of the form 'mry "they say," the form q!ly is hardly ever found in reliable texts; however, this form seems to be just a graphic device. In Ms. V a dot above the y (indicating an abbreviation) reveals the intention of the copyist. This dot is found, e.g. 452, 455; but without a dot, e.g. 598, 856. Similarly: n/gty "they go down" 303; in a nominal form: dkry "males" 306 (so according to the photograph. It is not always possible to come to a definite conclusion in such cases from the photograph); however, sbyn "old men" 510, according to the photograph (and not sby). In both CPA and SA the form is q!lyn. TO, where the form qtly is occasionally found, is not admissible here as evidence for the reasons given above (S 1). In Ma'lüla

word-final n has disappeared only in the noun, but not in the participle or in the adjective³.

1 This form has not been explained. The explanation given in B—L, pp. 64y; 233g, is not convincing. Perhaps there is an analogy here to the 2 f. sg. imperfect. In the strong verb the form is /iqlélin, but in the Ill—y form *lisbayin (< *tisbayn). Through the relation iiq!élin (imperfect): qâ!élin came into being. (True, the 2 f.sg. forms tisbayin of the perfect (participle): and imperfect X, the do form not occur scibayinir BAs but it is obvious that in speech this must have been one of the most common forms.)

2 Contra Dalman, Grammatik, pp. 102; 190-191. On the transcriptions which quotes, see infra.

3 Spitaler, Ma'lûla, pp. 30; 104—105. Spitaler's reliance on Dalman, Granunatik p. 102, with regard to GA, is therefore incorrect; see further on.

Though apocopation of word-final *n* is not foreshadowed in the participle in GA, it is very common in the active and participles of the verbs. The following will prove

Me V— Without *n*: *h'y* "wanting, asking" 711, 917, *hmyy* "singing" 1126; *ms/yy* "praying" 45; *b'* (probably *h'yy*) "asking" J 136. Also a nominal form: *vrscsē* 970. With *n*: *h'yyyn* "asking" 1183; "hitting" 6<2. "studying diligently" 1240; *mtyyyn* "bringing" 251, 253; *myytyy, ing* 870, 871; *mmgyyn* "making sore" 396; *dmksyyt* "which

300; *qryyn* "calling" 161, 380, 681, 868 (2 X), *qr•yn* 543. (See *fq p*, "Kéitb and Qére". Add the following example: *qr•yytt* 694); *ing* 328. With one *y*: *'tyn* "drinking" 689. The form *bkn* (= "crying" also occurs (See *infra*).

This phenomenon is quite evident in YFG: *b'yy* "asking" • 1966, 20125, 2649, 2719; *mdmyy* "comparing" 1583. 159* *hwwyy* "being" 1523; *nnvdy* "admitting" 5641, 593, 79 603.7, 8410. 1244. 21832, 24525; *Izmyy* "seeing" 232, 1009, 16, 1395, 14923, 1588. 159* 20722, 2736 *myytyy* "bringing" 2201', *'nyy* "answering" 20723; *pryy*

"hurrying" 2835, 7; *.5!yy* "jesting" 2106; *Sryy* "permitting" 201 s "learning" 2168; *ms/wy* (read probably *mslyy*) "praying" 7428. There are only a few examples with word-final *n*: *'tyyn* "coming" 21624', *b'yyyn* "asking" 1611, 29810; *mtb'yn* "being asked" 21827; *&myyn* '*seetng.

1499, 2491 J, *Junyn* 24914, *'l'yn* "studying diligently" 1333; *Wyn* "drinking" J961 7. The form *b'yyyn* 'nh 915 is apparently a corruption for *b'y* 'nh "t ask" (= *bā*)'an, i.e. with a suffixed pronoun?). It should be pointed out that in dual nouns *n* is kept: *kyl'yyyn* "Kilayim" 9421; "hands" 10128; "two thousand" 10124, *rāyyyn* "(upper and lower) mill« stones" 11412. All of these are Hebrew words in a Hebrew text! Ewa though J am not sure that I have recorded all the examples, nevertheless it seems that

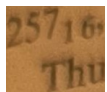
the forms with word-final n are an insignificant nunucity in YFG.

YEE b'yy "asking" 1324,\$,• mndyy "admitting" 13142,

YEL "Biblical verses" 26328; but: b'yyn Hebrew dual forjn: yc/yyn "hands e. CJS b' vy "asking" 444t m;jc/))' "adnlitting" 393 (2 x); /pnyy "seeing" 393, 396; ill>ly "pcaying.


396; beams."4 "calling" 396. A dual forni an a ilebccw text, /w/4y)

40 4 On illis sce aniUe in Zimbiz, XVI (19-15), p, 45 ff., and especially ibot.).

Nisha-forms, e.g. "Goths" BR, p. 124t (Ms. V), gwttyyn
 MFG 6, etc. do not belong here since their
 ending is not -ayn but -ayrn.

Dalman⁵ was not exact in concluding that GA was
 different

(from TO) in that it preserved the ending 47Yin, e.g.
 glyyn "revealing." This conclusion is especially strange
 since Schlesinger⁶ had already correctly established this
 fact in 1889, when he wrote that as against the other
 verbal classes, apocopation of n occurs in the Ill—y class.
 (It was his opinion that this was only a graphic
 phenomenon, i.e. qryy qryy(n) "calling.") The facts should
 also have been quite clear to Dalman, since in this
 respect the picture is not much different in the regular
 texts⁷. Apparently neither Schlesinger nor Dalman
 recognized this phenomenon, since they considered it to
 be just a small part of the general phenomenon,
 i.e. the possibility of the apocopation of n in every
 form of qtlyn. However, as was shown above, in light
 of the reliable texts this view is incorrect.

These forms point to a different solution: The forms
 bānayin, etc., developed from *bānayn (as *zayt > zayit
 "olive",  yādayim "hands" in Hebrew). It must be
 assumed that in GA — as in Ma'lūla⁸ — the diphthong
 caused the apocopation of word-final n (see *infra*). With
 regard to the forms with word-final n, it may a priori be
 assumed that this is just a phenomenon of graphic
 analogy to the other plural forms; however, see *infra*.

In YFG there are some very interesting vocalized forms,
 e.g. qārayyn(!)

"reading" 26221. The vocalizer considered the form to
 be qāray(!) as f y was shown above (p. 44). Note also
 bé'dyy "asking" (= bé'afi 7812. The vocalizer considered
 the form to be passive. (We prefer the form bā'ay, the
 active participle. There is no need, however, to assume

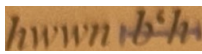
that there is a mistake here; cf. the Hebrew forms *sābūr* "thinking," etc.) The following vocalizations are at first glance puzzling: *&amyin* (= *&āmyin*) "seeing" 10422; *ba'yi* (= *bā'yi*) "asking" 10621 (an active form!). One tends to think that the vocalizer erred and grafted onto this verbal class the vocalization of the strong verb (i.e. *qāʔélin*). But since in Ma'lūla the

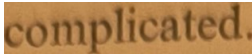
5 Grammatik, p. 340.

6 M. Schlesinger, *Das aramäische Verbum im Jerusalemischen Talmud*, Berlin 1889,

7 see in detail: Spitaler, *Ma'lūla*, p. 90, s 7c, where several features dealt with throughout this study are collected,

8 Interestingly, in the dialect 'Abdin word-final *n* is kept in the participle only in the JJ1-y forms, i.e. the exact opposite of GA. see: S. Siegel, *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts des Tūr 'Abdin*, Hannover 1924, p. 63.


plural was formed nncw on the analogy of the singular form verbos wc nmny assume that this process had already thus, this vocalization, reflects a correct linguistic tradition.  tnyvnr "they wanted to say" YFG 65



 complicated.

34,

read b' iq not Venice edition). Nevertheless, I am not sure that the situation

In light of the facts quoted above, we might expect to find this phenomenon in other situations where the same combination occurs, diphthong ay followed by n. This is in fact so. Firstly, in the 2 perfect form: According to the other Aramaic dialects found in BA — the original form was, e.g. *tisbayn "you will want." Dalman¹⁰, in fact, states that the

ending in this form is air,  (or al)'. Besides tFbyyn, the form tktyy "you will sin" also occurs, l' "do not sin!" GS, p. 404; tll'y ib., p. 403.

The same applies to nouns. As was noted, *infra* S 2C, the forms try, trtyy — trty exist alongside tryyn, trtyyn. Here also, the same assumption stated with regard to the verb is valid. Alongside myn—mypt "water," the spelling myy also occurs, e.g. Ms. V 359; YFG 127> 13%; dānayye "of water" ib. 10725. In this last example, a later vocalizer apparently grafted a Babylonian form onto the word. But in FPT: mayin, mayyin 25, 30 (The dot is not a vowel point.); myyh "the  32 (Gen 9:15). The name of the letter z in Ms. V, p. 683, is written  (so also in Syriac). The above examples are sufficient to prove the correctness of the rule which was assumed. Interestingly enough, this rule is still active today in Ma'lūla¹², though not in the above-mentioned forms since they no longer exist, but in other circumstances. I do not claim that this is a continuation of the rule which applied to GX. It may or may not be, but it is a definite parallel.

This rule may serve as a key to the solution of the form of place names such as byt 5'ryyn — byt jryy "Beth

Shearim." As is well known, the form in the Babylonian Talmud is byt s+rym, but in the Palestinian

9 Spitaler, Ma'lüla, p. 165,

JO Grammati/c, p. 339; examples, *ibid.*, p. 346.

J J The form mwy listed by Dalman, *ibid.*, p. 91 to the extent that it **liab**e texts is simply mwhy "its water," e.g. tnwy dtnbwl' "the waterc

DR, Ms. V, p. 296; mwy dmbwlh FPT 30 (Gen 7•.7), 32 (Gen 1); but (Gen 7:10). The form: dl' yin mwyy "that he should not give waterc' seems to be an error. Correct accordingly also: Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beißigd fischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, pp. 167—168. J 2 Spitaler, Ma'lüla, p. **30c**

.^err, If iq clenr that we

socn!izc höt ga'üravD", a dual form. 'T he ' wag 10Qf in pronunciation p, \$0). Aq a of our rule, hvt should become byt 1+c same applies to other place namcq mentioned in the palstinian Tn!mvd and in the Midtashim which have the same form 126718.as Oz. names oith a dual ending, e.g. "Sennabris" in Galilee seems to have the same form. Similarly /€pr "Kefar Scmai" in the Palestinian Talmud is known in the BabyTalmud as kpr synt'yt6. Also kpr pnnvvry "Kefar Mnwry" is vocalird by Klein mönoray (from what This is perhaps the ending in the name nhr gynyy "the rivulet Ginai." (This name is tranby Josephus (= Ginay?) and also in the name nhr hhry.v "the rivulet Habrai."¹⁹

The same applies to place names in Palestine which are written in the Babylonian Talmud with the ending —'y (= —yy in the Palestinian Talmud), e.g. kpr brq'y "Kefar Barqai."²⁰ 1 was of the opinion that the same applied to kpr 'wtny "Kefar Avthanai" on the border of Palestine, 'wtn'y in the Mishnah of the Babylonian Talmud and in the

However, not only do we find the transcription
zazaezovveä

(at this period = 0²² in the map of Ptolemeus (2nd cent. COE.) and "Kaparkotani" in Poitinger's map, etc.²³, which point to the form 'otni, but there is evidence for this form also from Rabbinic sources²⁴. Thus,

13 On the form of the name, see: Klein EG, p. 214, n. 4; SY, s. v. ; Avi-Yonah, GHEY, p. 133. See also infra, n.H'S! The form, therefore, is bét 'a'ārayim.

14 sy, s.v. Avi-yonah, GHEY, p. 139. The vocalization, therefore, is sanbéray; cf.

sy, s.v.; and especially, Klein, Ec;, PP. 130, 131; Avi-Yonah, GREY, p. 142. The

- 16 SY, s.v.; Klein, EG, p. 63; Avi-Yonah, GHEY, p. 146.
17 EG, p. 63; however, the text is uncertain. See S Y, s. v.
18 sy, s.v.; Avi-yonah, GHEY, p. 125. The transcription refers to the place.
19 Sr, s.v.; Klein, EG, P. 126. The possibility that represents the nisba-ending -āy i.e. "the river which belongs to (is near to) Ginna, Ginnaim," etc., should be taken into consideration. Similarly, "the river of Habra," and the like. However, a determined form libry', gynyy' would be preferable in such cases.

- 21 on Place, see sy, S.P.; for a discussion of the form, see: Dalman ss, p 221
22 see, especially: Dalman, op. cit., and Avi-yonah, c;ttEY, p. 144. Ibid., n. I 17,

correct: S. 176, to: 173; PJB, to: PJB, p. 35.
23 Quoted by Avi-Yonah as well as in Har
unable to check.

as well as in Hartmann's
article, which

- 24 Mishnah Git. J, 5; VII, 7. In the Mishnah of TV: Cambridge Ms.
(ed.

even though byt gryy, for example, is occasional transcriptions on the one hand, and the consistent spelling

(and without ') on the other hand, suffice

probably an abbreviation of the type kpr hnny Hanania." The name 'otni occurs in Ch is doubtful¹²⁵, since the variants kpr pg', kpr pre are attested^{2fi}

Characteristically enough, while byt the Babylonian Talmud in the form byt eryl, kpr brq'y remained unchanged, since its etymology from unknown. The reason for this is understandable: Beth Shearim Jewish center for some time, and its name reached the Diaspora not only in written documents or as part of the Halakhic tradition, but also living form. With regard to names in the Palestinian Talmud and the Aggadic Midrashim ending in y, we may suspect that the ending presents —ay. But as the example of kpr 'tny shows, there is no certainty

in the matter.

Finally, the following question should be clarified: Does the assumption that ayn) ay lead necessarily to the conclusion that this is the only possibility? What about the forms b'yyn, qryyn etc.? These cases may be easily explained by assuming that there was a graphic analogy to the regular plural form (if we exclude the possibility of the new form *qdréyln as noted above, p. 45). But what about tryyn instead of tryy? In this case, it is difficult to think of any graphic analogy. The situation is further complicated when we compare the forms tryyn, trtyn, trtn especially in

FPT. Why do we nearly always find tryyn but always
 A plausible answer, mainly for the instances in FPT,
 is the following: trtyn, . trtn always appear before
 nouns, e.g. bétartén bntk "for your two daugh• ters"
 8 (Gen 31•.41); tartén m'WE0n "two hundred" 10 (2
 x) (Gen 32:15); tartén n5wy "his two wives" 10
 (ibid. 23); trtyn 'mhtyh "his. two maid* servants" 10
 (ibid.), 42 (Gen 31 :33); trtyn bnn "two daughters" 34
 (Gen

Lowe): 'Jny; Ms. Kaufmann: 'otni (so vocalized); Ms. Parma: piJ'
 'tny (In the ticsL vocalized : 'otnây•, the second: gotni; oral
 communication of Mr. H. Yaloe). The 'Iny is found in the Mishnah
 of the Munich Ms. of the Talmud, and in R, . ha-Meiri's
 commentary to the Talmud, Beth Habbir, l, (ed, K. 'Iny is written
 with one y in all its occurrences in the 'Vosepma, apparently
 manuscripts. The listing in sy is again incomplete. For Bek.
 example, Vil, 3 (ed. Mishnah Git. VJJ, 7 is not given. Also lacking:
 Tos.

. 1)• 54137); Para X, 2 (63832) IThese references are
 taken from Dalman is also found in Y, B.Mes. lic.
 25 Avi-yonah, p. 128.

Il/yn "two 12 (Lev 23:17). The form tryyn

occurs

16); trtyyn

/5

when no noun follows (for references, see above, p. 26). When followed by a noun, the form is tryn, e.g. tryn lywløy "two tablets" 26 (Deut 5:19); tryn "his two brothers" 32 (Gen 9:22); cf. also try 'fr "twelve" 50 (Lev 22:27). Since trayin is generally written with yy, it may be assumed that the vocalization in the above-mentioned cases is trén. But we also find: tryyn ywntyn ' "two days" 2 (Ex 21 :21); tryyn "rwnyn "two tenths" 55 (Num 28:20), 61 (ibid, 28). In Ms. V the forms tryyn, tryy are also found when no noun follows (references supra, p. 26), and mostly trtyyn, troy; however, we also find trtyyn njyn "two women" 327; trtyyn nynwh "two Nineveh's" 427. Mainly» tryn, trtyyn, trtn occur before nouns, but we do find trtn used independently (p. 959).

Nothing can be learnt of the geographic distribution of this linguistic law from place names such as :snbryy, etc. Such names give evidence only of the language of the writer. But — if the tradition is correct — the Babylonian form brq'y is quite instructive.

At first glance one might think that this law applied also to Palmyrene,

since the Palmyrene Tariff reads: 'ynn trtn dy mfr'] "two fountains of er]."²⁷ However, not only is my restored²⁸, but it is now clear that this restoration is incorrect. A Palmyrene inscription²⁹ reads: 18m wmn Imh ySb' "He will not be satisfied with bread and water." Thus the correct restoration in the Palmyrene Tariff is m[n].

With regard to the Jerusalem region, the form Te0cngapei is apparently Hebrew: gt jmny[m] "olive press." In Aramaic, the transcription is more difficult to explain. Therefore, this may not be adduced as proof of the apocopation of n in the ending —ayn. The name

BOOpayfr—in Jewish sources bytp'gy — is even more doubtful. According to Dalman³¹, this derives from pgyn "unripened dates"; however, a derivation from pagan is also possible. In any event, nothing definite can be established. Perhaps this is a case of apocopation of word-final n (or m) of the plural. (After all, what do we know of the Jerusalem dialect?)

27 CIS, Pars Secunda, 111, Paris 1926, no. 3913, pagina 2, 1.

28 Based on Mandaic; see *ibid.* With regard to the Mandaic form, see: Nöldek-e,

Neue Beiträge, p. 168

29 CIS, JJ/3, no. 4218.

30 Dalman, *Grammatik*, pp. 190-191; cf. *supra*, n. 2.



31 Dalman, *SS*, P. 253. The fact that in Rabbinic sources there is an 'aner the P supports the contention that ' was employed as a mater lectionis, mainly in foreign words. Incidentally, there is only one (cf. Dalman, *ibid.*, n. 29). It is interesting to note that (sy, s. p.) apparently goes back to "fountain."

There gccmg, however, to be no hint of this rule in SA, CPA, or FET
 Examples from FPP ' 'oppressed' 29' (Deut 28; 29): r'yytt
 "favorable" 38 (Gen 30:29); mskyyn ' 'waiting' 41 (Gen
 31 :22), •

"seeing" 60 (Ex 20:15); but hāmayin 58 (Ex 20: 2) (cc supra. p.
 45: a qārayin). A nominal form: lōm4in tōmayt") "twins" 44 (Gen
 38:27). This opens up interesting possibilities for establishing the
 provenance of these latter two dialects. It confirms the theory that
 the provenance of CPA was far from Galilee, but close to SA, i.e. it
 was a dialect of the inhabitants of Judea. With regard to FPT, this is
 one of the points of contact between it and CPA, as opposed to GA.
 (There are other points of contact.) This points to its geographic
 provenance as being perhaps the coastal or southern region.
 However, other factors may be involved.

What is the nature of the ending found in place names
 such as byt 'ryyn — 'ryy? At first glance, there is no doubt
 that this is the "dual" ending³², since the plural form of the
 participle of all verbal classes —except the Ill—y class — is
 —in (e.g. qā!élin). But what does the "dual" have to do with
 place names? As is well known, the number of place names
 in Biblical Hebrew with the "dual" ending is significant. e.g.
 'a'āraylm, qarnayim. From the Rabbinic period 'yblyym^{33, a}.
 This "dual" ending is considered to be the archaic locative
 ending³⁴.

Nevertheless, there is still room for doubt, since it seems
 that this "dual-locative" ending parallels the plural: 'yblym —
 'yblyym is today 'Jblin; gynyy is today Jannln with the
 Aramaic plural ending. This can, of course, be explained: It is
 well-known how endings change from one period to the next
 and from one source to another. For example, the name
 hpryym — 'pryym, Aveaia and also 'prw³⁵ has three different
 endings. The first is a "dual," the second a determined plural
 (or dual), and the third an ending common to place names.
 The shift from a "dual" to a plural ending could have easily
 occurred. In spite of this, the phenomenon poses the
 following question: Do we actually have here a plural and not
 a dual ending? It should be pointed out that while the

32 In detail on this question, see B. Belh She'urim², vol. i: The
 CaLacombs I-IV, 1957, p. 13 (iāvbccvy). suggestion - that ycry civvcc; however,
 of' the as if it a Oja ili-y coo' because of such as Apr  brq'y, etc.,
 the second which he mentions 'u., ihg "dual,"  pivi<ßébb..

34 II, Torczjner, EniJiehung des »emiliochd/' Spruch/ypus, Vienna
 1916, I, P• 88 ff.; Barth, op. cit. (p. 23, n. 30), p. 319, n. 5;
 brockclnunn, GVG, I, p. 393, 216 35 Dalman, SS, p, 219. I he iotrn
 'pry occurs in DR, Sis, V, p. 1058.

𐤌𐤎𐤔 form of "king" is malktn, the determined plural form is 𐤌𐤎𐤔𐤁/kayyā. The most plausible explanation of this form is that it derives from the dual and not from the plural! Could it be that Palestinian Aramaic moved a step further in this direction, i.e. the speakers began to use the dual instead of the plural form also for the absolute form?

There appear to be indications of this form also in the literary sources.

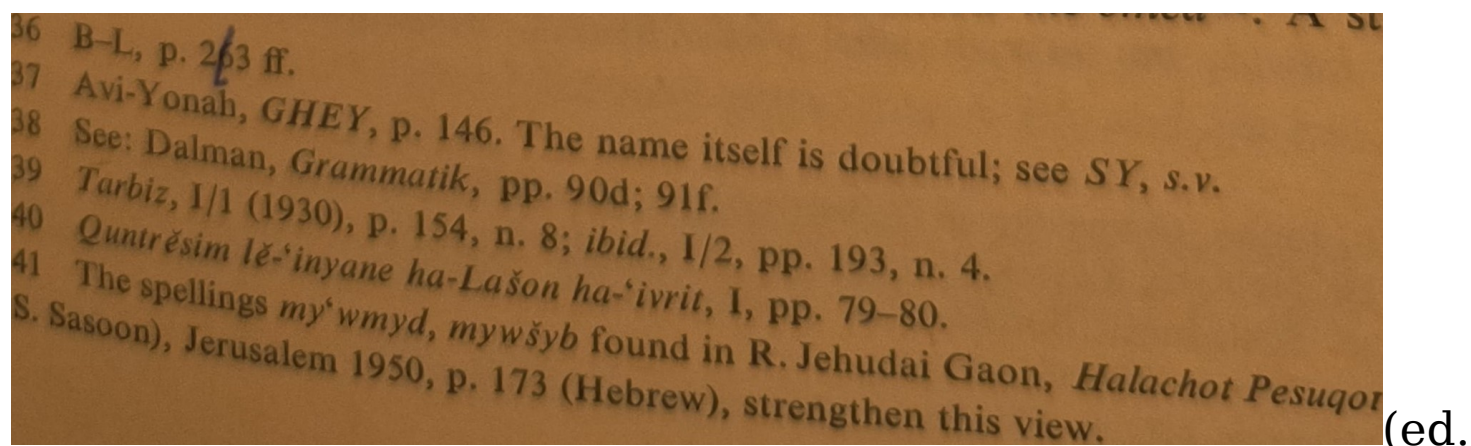
In FPT: Mpyr'kyyn "dry ears of corn" 52 (Lev 23: 14); qylvpyyn /.twwryyn "white streaks" 39 (Gen 30:37). In DR: 'ytryyn "places" 699 (according to Ms. (Temple-) L) sheds' "companies" " (quote 1067 from (2 X) Mishnah); kryryym Nedarim (= kdyryym)r, 3). the 607

The same reading is found in the Lowe edition (Cambridge Ms.) of the Mishnah (kdydyym!) and is vocalized in the Kaufmann Ms. kédirayim. It may be assumed that since the Mishnah is quoting a vow which was made in the vernacular, its language is Aramaic. The complete phrase is k'ymrh (k'ymr') kdyryym " 'as the lamb' (or) 'as the (Temple-) sheds'." 'ymrh is certainly Aramaic. The ending m in dyryym does not prove the opposite. Because of the popular nature of vows, it is possible that a form was preserved here which in regular Aramaic was very rare.

Finally, do the Greek transcriptions Becdea and [Kaz]aeacqca̱ (kpr smyy)³⁷ represent a singular noun in the determined state, or was ay at the end of a word likely to contract to ä³⁸? (Cf. supra, p. 46: bé'ā (= b'yy) YFG 6534).

B. The Construction mn + the Participle^a

The problem of the vocalization of the form m'vumd "standing" was raised by H. Yalon³⁹. He pointed out that different Jewish communities pronounced this form in various ways, e.g. the Sephardic pronunciation is me'bmed the Ashkenzic mé'ummåd and the Yemenite me'oméd. Yalon himself explained the form 40, supporting his explanation with an Aramaic passage from DR, Chap, 98:11 (p. 1262): 'mrth mn q'ym tzky mn yiyb "You have said it standing. May you be worthy to say it sitting." Thus, we see from here that the Yemenite tradition is the correct one and the word should be pronounced me'omec141. A study



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of reliable texts shows this construction is found to a great in GA. Moreover, this construction always has a specific syntactic ion. The original form — mn the participle was preserved in Only a few places, and of them ate in reliable texts only (cf. infra,

from Ms. V). In most cases, the construction was corrupted in ways which in themselves are instructive regarding the methods used in "correcting" the texts. Some "new grammatical forms" were also created.

In general, ntn -b the participle became mqtł. This form is similar to the Aramaic pō'al-infinitive (see above 2C). Sometimes the m was then separated from the word and became an independent mh "what" (no.

4). Sometimes the spelling was myq!l and from this an independent my "who" was separated (nos. 13, 15, etc.). Under the influence of TAY the m was changed to ky (nos. 5, 17, etc.). If in spite of everything the mn survived, it was changed to m'n "who" (no. 6), or, under the influence of the preterite, to mn d— "since" (nos. 1, 4, etc.). Sometimes it was completely eliminated (nos. 5, 7, etc.), or — under the influence of TA and TO was changed to kd "when" (nos. 5, 6, 8, etc.). my was even changed to 'y "if" (no. 20). Sometimes even the verb was corrected (no. 11). All these forms have led to innumerable grammatical mistakes. As a result the situation needs to be clarified by a large number of examples.

For what purpose is this construction used? From the following examples its purpose is clear: It serves as a predicative. In Biblical Hebrew, the participle serves this purpose, e.g. y:s'w nsbym "they went out standing"

(Num 16:27); 'Sw 't '5ryhm mk'ysym 't YHWH "they have made their Asherim angering the Lord" (I Kings 14:15); etc.⁴² kad In Syriac, methammat the con"he^e struction kad + the participle is used, e.g. 'énå . . .

answered while angry"; dabball lam napSeh léjede kad nå&et "he offered himself to demons while descending,

In the Babylonian Talmud this is generally expressed by the particle ky, e.g. syyl Wy" twty brkyh ky rkyb gml' "The Arab passed under his knees riding on a camel" (B. Bath. 74a)⁴⁴. In Mandaic, the particles k,l, 'l d- are used in a different context⁴⁵. At Dura-Europos, the construction ■kd + the participle is found in an Aramaic inscription on a fresco; msh Rd npq wbz' "Moses, while going out

42 P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, Rome 1923, p. 206.
43 Th. Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*², Leipzig 1898, p. 206.
44 M. Schlesinger, *Satzlehre der aramäischen sprache* de babylonischen Ta
s

. infra.

oARIETCATTON or GRÅMMATtCM,
Jt,t GA gmw'l kd nt'/' dwyd
"Samuel while annointing

splitting the **sea**":

pavid.'The **ol** are examples from GA :

chap. 78 (pp. 931-932), according to Ms. V: Re bn Iqy'

ol

ol Imel h/lmh drbynW' . . • m dL!) ghp•h 'ft
hdh (read: &dh) 'yth "R. Simeon b. Lakish went up to
pay his respects to R. Judah the Prince. While being
seated next to him a woman came.'

BR, ibid. (p. 917), according to Ms. V: 'm(r) lh mn
hn hw' 'ty 'm(r) lh mn d'thM77 dtyw'th dhynyn mdy'n
mn !'ynyn kwrsyyh "He said to him: 'From where does
it (i.e. the river of fire) come?' He said to him: 'From
the perspiration of the animals which perspire while
carrying his throne'e" 3. BR, chap. 75 (pp. 728—729),
according to Ms.V: 'wbd' hwh b&dh sy'h dp'ryrwn . . .
lid mynhwn mn dmyk (Ms. L: mydmk; Mss. PK: mdmk)
"It happened among a group of servants. When one of
them was dying.. e".

4.BR, chap. 33 (pp. 301—302), according to Ms. V, in
the story of Alexander the Great: mn ytyb gbyyhw
(read: gbyyhwn) "While he was seated next to them."
The reading in the basic text is mh ytyb (corrupted
from mytyb), and apparently so also in the other mss.
Ms. P: wmh dyytyb; Ms. O: wmdytyb.

5.BR, chap. 33 (p. 300), according to Ms. V: R. yhSw'
bn Ivey slq Irwmy... ummhlk b'wq' tm' lid mskn "R.
Joshua b. Levi travelled to Rome . . . While walking in
the market place, he saw a poor man." This reading
occurs only in Ms. V (and 0¹). The other mss. read
either wmhk

or wky mhlk, wkd mhlk.

6.DR, chap. 92 (pp. 1138-1139), according to Ms. V: :bdyy br **wR**yhwj' bn lwy wR. ywsy br pyy!rws tltyhwn 'mne (read: 'mnm) tith qryyn mdmkyn "Zabdai b. Levi and R. Joshua b. Levi and R. Yose b.

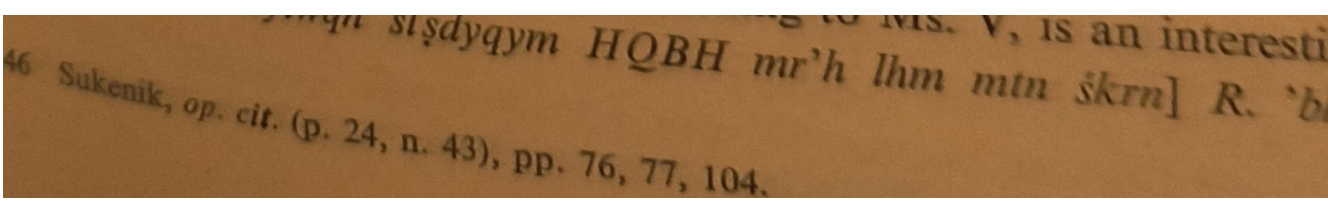
Petros, the three of them said three verses while they were Ms. S: mn dmky; Ms. G: mn dmkyn. The other mss.

kdunkyn. In the basic text: m'n(!) dmkyn.corrected" the reading to

7 chap. 78 (p. 931), according to Ms. V: mt&mv commentary). The m disappeared from all the other mss lob of BR It **PSY**!h "He is seen on returning and his hand is outstretched'S (eti the

Preserved, however, in the later Midrasllic works Leqa&

example: [bet ^{cha}p. 62 (pp. 671-672), 11QBt1 according Inr'h to V, an R.



mdmk⁴⁷ qwmwy t/t 'gr nhryn ' 'At the time of the death of the righteous, the J Ioly One blessed be J le, shows them their reward, Thirteen rivers (of balsam) passed by R. Abahu while he was dying." Thug explicitly: sylvvqn "at the time of their death," In the basic text kddmk and apparently so in the other mss, (including Ms. VI), So *ibid.*, p. 672 (only in Ms.V): zbdyy . . . mydmkyn. In all the other mss.: kd.

9. DR, chap. 96 (p. 1240), according to Ms. V: 'wlh br y'm"l nbt limn mdmk 'wry b/cy "Ulla b. Ishmael emigrated there (i.e. to Babylonia). When he was dying he began to cry."

10. DR, chap. 6 (p. 48) according to Ms. V (The variaie lectionis are very bad for this section.): dlmh R. jmw'l 'Izwy CIR. pynbs br bm' mn (corrected to hwh) dmk b,yypwryn whwn Izbryh ytbyn gbyh "A story: When R. Samuel, the brother of R. Phineas, was dying in Sepphoris, the colleagues were sitting beside him." Ms. V² also reads: mn.

I have brought all these examples from Bereshit Rabba since we can see from the critical apparatus how this construction was "corrected" in all the manuscripts, including Ms. L and Ms. V², to the point where it is doubtful whether we could have recognized the construction from these other manuscripts.

11. Y. Ber. V, 9a, l. 39: R. 'm'wn bn lqyj mnbgw b'wryth sgyn hwwh npq lbr mn t/gwmh c15wbth whw' l' yd' "R. Simeon b. Lakish while thinking about the teachings of the Torah (i.e. while deep in study) would go out of the Sabbath limit unwittingly." YFG 1712 and Ms. Vat. Ebr. 133 read: myhgy. It is clear that the correct reading is mn hgy.

Ibid.: R. ywdn byR. yjm"l mnbgyh (YFG 181 : mhgy; Ms. Vat. 133: myhgy) b'wryth sgyn hwwt gwlth jr'h mn "When R. Judah b. R. Ishmael was very deep in study, his cloak would fall off him." Clearly, mnbgyh should be: mn hgy. YFG 182 (not in the editio princeps) reads: R. ly'zr byR. jm'wn mhgy b'wryth sgyn hwwt gwlth 'r'h mn.

12. Y. Shek. V, 49b, according to YFG 13217: n/:zwm 'y' gm zw hyh mwly/c drwn lbyt /gmyw pg' bw mwky j/gyn '&cl 'm(r) lyh zky 'ymy mn m' d'yt gbn (read: gb/c)

'm(r) lyh my&zr "Nahum of Gimzo was bringing a present to his father-in-law's house. A man afflicted with boils came up to him (and) said to him: 'Give me alms from what you have on you.' He said: 'On returning (I will give you)'."

13. Y. R. Hash. J, 57b, according to YFG 15316: '(mr) R. p̄hwš* bn lwy 'n' ^cryb l'lyn d'zlyn llmwclyn clyt lid tnnhvn m'yt m'yzyl "R. Joshua

47 Y. Al). zar. J, 20 (also Ms. Leyden): ,bnk.

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cLARJFJCATION OF GRAMMATICAL porr•rrs

said: I ant Levi responsible for those who go to study, that not one of

will dic on going." Ed, pr. : 'zy/.

particularly interesting with regard to the use of this construction is following example from the "Abridged Legends of the Palestinian Tailltld," approxinlately: GS, p. P 64

427: rhy hw/? mmny pqyd try vv9(mr) /bryh my . (bilk (ed. Pr.: me
mn dd,nk b" bryh mmntyh . "R. Judah the Prince would make two ape pointments (i.e. no more than two at one time), When he was dying he con,mandcd his This son: version 'Do not is, act of course, so.' After exact. he died, The his first son constructionwanted to appoint . . •

Ory: is -h the participle, whereas the second is mn cl— "after," "since" • + the perfect of the verb.

15. The following example, Y. Ab. Zar. Ill, 42c, 1.1, is quite instructive (cf. supra, no. 8): kd dmk R. n/.awm br sym'y &pvvn 'yqwnt' mhsln .

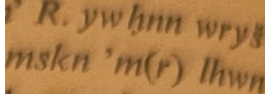
in dmk rby '&' 'yt&my kwkb' b!yhr' kd dmk R. lann 'ytkpwn 'ndr! y' "When R. Nahum died, they covered the picture with mats . . . When R. Aha lese died, a star appeared at noon. When R. Hanan

died, the statues were turned over." All of these events occurred after their deaths; therefore, the construction *kd 4- dmk* "when he died" is used. When the event occurred while they were dying, the construction *my (= mn) + the participle* was used (ibid., l. 20): R. 'bhw my dmk 'brwn qwmwy 13 nhryn d'prsmwn 'mr lwn kl 'ylyn 1m'n . . . zbdyy br lyw'y(!) wrby ywsy br py!rs wrby yhwj' bli Ivy 'mryn tlt' pswqyn my dmky "When R. Abahu was dying, thirteen rivers of balsam passed (by him). He said to them: 'For whom are all 3: these?' . . . Zabdai b. Levi, R. Yose b. Petrus, and R. Joshua b. Levi spoke three biblical verses while they were dying."

Ibid., l. 33: *kd dmk rby ys' npl qsytwlyn d!ybryh* "When R. Yasa died, the castle of Tiberias fell in." This is again an event which occurred after his death. But ibid., l. 36: *rbn yvvlmn bn zk'y my dmk 'mr pnw hbyt mm h!wm'h* "When R. Johanan b. Zakkai was dying, he said: 'Empty out the house because of the uncleanness (resulting from the presence of a

corpse in the house)'." Note also that in every case of *kd + dmk*, the predicate precedes the subject; however, in the construction *mn -k the participle*, the subject precedes the verb. These examples prove that in this construction the participle was inflected according to number (See *infra*, no, 18).

16. Y. Ber. V, 9a, l. 33: R. 'bwn 'l qvwmvvy mlkvvt' ky npyq hpk qdl "R. Abun entered before the (Roman) government. On going out he turned his back (on them)." But in Ms. Vat. Ebr. 133: *my npq*. In YFG 175, the text is slightly "corrected : " *mdnpq(!)*, as in several other cases (e.g. no. 1).

17. Wayyikra RAbba, chap. 34 (pp. 793 dy/„t'  n&tern hhdyn dymy•sy' dfhry• hhwn hd hy •m(rycn) (rh my&tryn (Ms. Vat. 32: my npqyn; ed. pr.: ky 'tPt1Yn) •nn zkyyn bk &wnyh ntyyt •mry hw'y/ w/' 'tp/nn hyh bhywy ntp/ hyh my ms&yn lyh 'khwn tidh kys m'h dynryn hftc•ryh "A story: R. Jobanan and Resh Lakish went down to the public bath Of Tiberias and a poor man came up to them. He said to them: 'Give me alms.' They said to him: 'When we return we will give you alms.' On returning they found him dead. They said: 'Since we did not attend to him during his lifetime, let us attend to him in his death.' On washing him, they found a purse with five hundred dinars hung on his neck."

In light of this and other examples, I am very much in doubt whethet the word ky existed at all in GA sources! It does not occur in any other Western Aramaic dialect. It probably derives from my which the copyists changed to ky under the influence of TA⁴⁸.

18. Y. B. Kam. rx, la, 1. 24: khdh 'ytt drby b' br Imh my dm/e 'mrh 'hn qydwj' drbty "Like the wife of R. Abba b. Hana who said when she was dying: 'This is my daughter's betrothal gift'." Dalman (Grammatik, p. 234) translates: "als sie entschlafen war." Thus she spoke after her death! Similarly, he misunderstood the form: mnpqyn "on their going out" (Y. Taan. IV, 69a), *ibid.*: "nachdem sie herausgegangen waren."

19. The next example, Y. Pes. IV, 31b, is also interesting. (The text is quoted in the main according to GS, p. 443): bywmwy dR. mn' hwwt nwmyrh bypwryn whwh bnyhwn d:sypwryy mjkwynyn gbwn m'ty mzl lwn (ed. pr.: md't'y myzl) 'pyq R. mn' krwz . . . "In the days of R. Mana there was a division of troops in Sepphoris, and the sons of the inhabitants of Sepphoris were held as pledges by them. When they were about to go out, R. Mana issued a proclamation . . . ". At first glance, the singular form is puzzling, since as we have seen, the participle is inflected for gender and number. But in the parallel biblical construction, the situation is similar. Alternatively, perhaps: 'ty 'tyy.

47a J would like to thank Dr. M. Margulies, who is preparing a critical edition of Wayyikra Rabbah, for permitting me to use the manuscript of this edition.

48 It cannot be contended that this is a Hebrew survival, since it is not found in Mishnaic literature. The word in Eastern Aramaic (i.e. in TA) is apparently a loanword from Akkadian.

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or GRAMMATICAL ronrrs GA

CLARIFICATION

20, Y K i'. 1 X, <'tJila 32c. L wars 29: An emigrant nhvt' from 'yd"'lk Pateqtine. (read. When DIYd"1k; he wagcf. 0) o"' 17k,)'

no

dying fherc (i h. in Babylonia) he began "When to cry." R.


Essa,
'ydmk
Psalms
hwh my

Similarly, Meir wag ihid,, dying L 32:in p, m•yr he said: Read: lyh h'syy' mydmk40, •m(r) in spite of the fact that the reading

is found also in Y. Kcth. X rr, 35b, and in Yatkut Machiri on 24:2. But Midrash Haggadol (ed. Margulies), p. 809 reads: kd(!) my dmkf0. The above examples are sufficient to prove the "correction." oamp!e is further proof of the extent to which the regular editions have been corrupted.

21. The Rabbis even grafted this construction onto a biblical verse for exegetical purposes: 'lwpynw mswblym "May our cattle be heavy with young" (Ps 144:14) was interpreted as follows ("Abridged Legends of the Talmud," GS, p. 394): R. yw/gnn '(mr) 'lwpynvv mésöbélim (so vocalized) bS'h Shgdwlym swblym 't hq! nym 'yn pms "R.Yohanan said: 'lwpynw mswblym (Ps 144:14) When the great take care of the small 'there is no mischance' (ibid.)."

These examples sumce to show the wide distribution of mn (my, m—) + the participle, its meaning, its uses, etc. Additional examples: YFG 21018, 23034, 29410; GS 419, 421, 422, etc. One more example should be pointed out: mydrs% "he stopped preaching" YFG 23227, since this construction may have begun with verbs of this type. I have not found this construction in FPT. However, cf. 'rwm 'yk 'rq hw' "because he was a fugitive" 41 (Gen. 31•.20: ky bwrli hw' and not *mn 'rq).

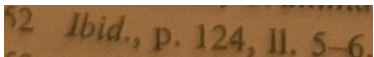
This construction is widespread in CPA. Examples: w'mrnn lhwn mn dlllyn dl'yq!wlwn ytn "Being afraid we said to them not to kill us"⁵¹ ; mn  'Stk&t hk' "In (my) wandering I found myself here"⁵² ; mn mhymnyn "believing"⁵³; mn ytyb bgw qlytk "while you are sitting in your celF⁴."

These examples show that there is agreement also in gender and number^s,

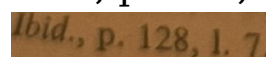
49 Dalman, Grammatik, p. 258, brings this and other examples to prove that in GA as in Syriac (and similarly in Arabic) "e auxi lliary ver can come before the perfect.


roo s ----- as well as the others brought there deal with this elsewhere. are, thus invalid. I intend to

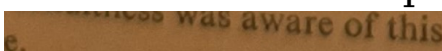
50 G. Is,uel, J (1951), p. 130, n. 1 (Hebrew). Schulthcss, Grammatik, Chrestomathie, p. 121, 1. 15.

52  Ibid., p. 124, ll. 5-6

53 Ibid., p. 126, 1. 21.

 Ibid., p. 128, 1. 7

% Schulthess was  phenomenon; cf. ibid., P. S and his explanation

 was aware of this

as is generally the case in GA. In CPA, the construction apparently also possible. Examples: *hyk d*

the table)" (Mat 26: 7); *dhnvv•n* 'klyn ' 'And a 21). The situation is, however, more complicated on the surface (but not with regard to the sub'

JCct).

Sometimes the *cipic* appears alone. This construction is also found in

munication from Dr. Z. Ben-Hayyim).^a At least it In reliable texts, th

struction *kd* + the participle never occurs alone

Interestingly enough, this construction does exist in the participle however, has *kd* + the participles e.g. 'ry 'hwt . ot occur in TO which go down to Sheol mourning" (Gen 37:35); so also Ex 14:9. (so

Jonathan

origin of TO and the nature of Pseudo-Jonathan. regard to the We have thus found another feature common to Western Aramaic: *mn -Jr* the participle as a predicative. Therefore, this is important for the question of whether this construction parallels *mn yyb yd* 'nh "I know with certainty" (Dan 2:8) in BA. Even though this possibility seems far fetched, it must still be taken into consideration.

Finally, one puzzling point should be mentioned. It was stated that the construction *kd* + the participle apparently does not exist in reliable GA texts. The parallel expression in the Babylonian Talmud is *ky* + the participle (supra, p. 52). As Schlesinger states⁵⁶, *kd* does not occur in the Babylonian Talmud except in the following two cases: 1) The Tractates Nedarim, Nazir, etc., the language of

which is different from the other tractates; 2) Speech of Palestinian Amoraim! How is this possible if *kd* + the participle was non-existent in GA? This phenomenon points to the existence of a common supra-dialectical language (but cf. the discussion of CPA). Before any conclusion may be reached in this regard, a basic study of the language of the Palestinian Amoraim quoted in the Babylonian Talmud must be made.

C. *Word-Final m > n^e*

Nachmanides was apparently the first to note that in the Palestinian Talmud word-final *m* > *n*: "'yprsn is like 'yprsm ('it was divulged'), as one says there (i.e. in the Palestinian Talmud): 'dn for ('person'). R. Jssachar b. Naphtali ha-Cohen, the author of

56 Schlesinger, op. cit. (p. 52, n. 44), p. 242.

57 'yprsn /cmw 'yprsm tictnw s<'wmr 'm 'dn btnqwm 'dtn.

cc,mmcntnty to Midrash Rabba, independently
 recognized thig pheno(scc his commentary to Num
 Among modern scholars,

Ginzberggo has dealt with 'dpi and both rr.L.
 Ginsberg60 and have also devoted detailed
 articles to this subject. S. Lieber-

man('2 has nddcd additional material. Finally, LN. Epstein
 in MNM,

■ 1230 ff.63, has clabrated on this subjct,
 especially with regard to the mafcrial in the Mishnah.
 The following study will attempt to define the
 geographical and chronological limits of this linguistic
 change. Additional material will bc culled not only from
 literary sources, but also from place names, Greck and
 Latin transcriptions, and inscriptions.

The following are the main literary sources: The
 Palestinian Talmud, Aggadic Midrashim, manuscripts of
 the Mishnah, and Palestinian liturgical poetry. They
 contain a relatively large amount of material: 'dn ■ 'dm)
 "person" (for the examples from Ms. V; cf. supra, p. 20);
 'yn ■ 'm; But here it may be claimed that this is just
 the Aramaic parallel form); 'ynncn 'ymwm) "model,
 form"; grdwn (= grdwm) "gallows" '64 ; .gydn gycbn)
 "stump-handed"; drwn (= drwm) "South"65; likyn
 (=17kym) "wise person"; Izmyn (= Izmym) "warm"; krn
 (= krm)
 ■ 'vineyard"; 'yprsn (= 'yprsm) "it was divulged"66 • hmqrsm
 (= hmqrsm) "one who trims trees"; ryqm (biblical) ryqn
 (Mishnaic) "empty" '67; k"? kjm) "just as"; jn (= 5m)
 "there"; thwn (thwm) "abyss." Also: ('n (= ('m) "to claim";
 15m l'wn) "language" (cf. supra, p. 19). Perhaps the
 interchange :swnn — :swnyn — :swnym "cold water"
 belongs here⁶⁸. It is, however, possible that the ending —yn
 in the word :swnyn was

58 See: Quntr&sim, I, p. 31.

59 L. Ginzberg, 'Beiträge zur Lexicographie des Aramäischen', Festschrift A. Schwartz, Berlin-Vienna 1917, p. 332.

60 H.L. Ginsberg, 'Zu den Dialekten des Talmudisch-Hebräischen', MGWJ, LXXVII (1933), p. 421. This article is important in general for GA.

61 Ibid., pp. 429-430.

62 Hayerushabni Kiphshuto, Introduction, p. 22.

63 A bibliography is given there.

64 The word is therefore not "gradus" but "gradum" (accusative). see: Krauss, etc., p. 183. There is no difficulty in this assumption, since in vulgar Latin

this form d

65 This word did not survive in the primary sources in which it was "corrected" to drwm, but is mentioned by Nachmanides as a form occurring in Tv. For external proof for this form, cf. infra., p. 64. But Eusebius: see: sy, s. P. drwm, n. 1. 66 But according to the commentators there (Y, Kid. 111, 4, 64a) this word is not

from the root prsm

67 M.H. Segal, A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew, Oxford 1927, p. 34.

mistakenly considered to be the Aramaic plural ending and was scribed" into Hebrew. R. Issachar b. Naphtali ha-Cohen in his tary Mattōnot Kōhuna to mmidbar Rabba stated that the midrashic explanation: hr 3b' hqd"'ß bryvk hw' 'Mt. naghan' (Ps 68:16) "The Holy One, blessed be He, came there," is based on this inter. change. Yalon has shown that the ancient liturgical poets of Palestine (R. Eleazar ha-Qallir, etc.) rhymed m with n. These two consonants were, therefore, identical in pronunciation in word-final position. In his commentary to Eccl 5:19 Abraham ibn Ezra, who did not know the explanation of this phenomenon, attacked R. Eleazar ha-Qallir for "rhyming ywm with pdywn and 'lywn."⁶⁹ (See Yalon, *ibid.*)⁷⁰. In addition to the above, it should be remembered that Palestinian Mishnah fragments only employ forms such as r"yn (= r"ym) "evil people"; 'tn (= 'tm) "you (m. pl.)"; dntn (= dntm) "you (m.pl.) have judged," etc. These forms, however, do not constitute definite proof,

In my opinion, the word Fwnn (= yvnm) "rock, stone" (Tos. B, Bath, I, 4; ed. Zuckermann, p. 39812) should also be added (cf. the commentators). Another example occurs in a letter sent from somewhere in Syria to Jerusalem at the end of the 11th century C. E. (according to Mann; cf. *infra*): 'd jntbrr l'wr ywmn (= ywmm) "until it was clarified in the light of day."⁷¹ A further example occurs in a letter to Elijah ha-Cohen b. Abiathar Gaon (11th cent.): bkl lby 'ny mtqnm (= mtqnn) "and I lament With all my heart."⁷², a

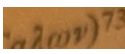

What is the geographical provenance of this phenomenon? The literary texts as well as indications from other sources (See further on) show it for Galilee. But, in my opinion, it was certainly known in Jerusalem. On ossuaries found in Jerusalem, the name jlwn (in Greek transcription


69 libr ywm 'm pdywn w'lywn.

70 In my opinion, Ginsberg (op. cit., p. 59, n. 60) is not correct in this also to FPT on the basis of 'abnim "stones" 9 (Gen 31 :46) and myym "water" 47 (Gen 43 :24), which have an Aramaic vocalization. Similarly, one can learn nothing from the Hebraism malkjm (Ezra 4:13). The same applies to the above-mentioned words.

7 J J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, Oxford 1922, II, p. 237, J. 17. Attention should be paid to this and other linguistic phenomena, especially in correspondence from the Geniza. In such cases it is sometimes possible to determine the place and time of a specific linguistic phenomenon (though because of the literary nature of the material, it is not always possible to put it to best use).

72 The letter was published by Mann, op. cit., p. 230, l. 16.

 is found three times⁷³ alongside the regular form Slwm, Æ/m with m, (The form with m is also known from Greek transcriptions,) r„scbius and other ancient writers call Queen Salome by the name ⁷⁵ The spring is called in the New Testament and in the

scrtuagint but the present-day village nearby it is called  Win16. In my opinion, the spelling in the New Testament is hypercorrective (cc infra on the transcriptions in LXX) and in fact indicates a pronunciation "Silwân." The name mrym "Miriam" is found in inscriptions from Jerusalem and also in transcriptions⁷⁴ in the form tnryh "Maria,"⁷⁸ a form known from the New Testament. In my opinion, this latter form may more easily be explained from *mryn than from mrym. It is well known that there was a tendency in GA to append a final n to undeclinable words ending in a vowel⁷⁹.a Because of this wavering — appending the n was optional⁸⁰—the speaker was apt to consider the n of *mryn as appended, and he might eliminate it⁸¹. This is indeed the case with several names with final radical n. The name mrwn is transcribed in Josephus: Mne00 (= mrw, mrwt), even though n is a root letter, etymologically m (See infra, p. 63). The place name n'ym — n'yn

⁷³ See, e.g.: Klein, JPCJ, pp. 26, 27; E.L. Sukenik, Festschrift S. Krauss, Jerusalem 1936, p. 92 (Hebrew); in transcription, see, e.g.: Klein, JPCI, p. 20.

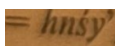
⁷⁴ E.L. Sukenik, Tarbiz, 1/3 (1930), P. 154.


⁷⁵ E. Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus, I, New York 1891, P. 308, n. 2.

⁷⁶ E.g. John 9:7; LXX Is 8:6. See: G. Dalman, Jerusalem und sein Gelände, Gütersloh 1930, p. 50.

⁷⁷ E.g. Klein, JPCI, p. 8, etc.; in transcription: Sukenik, Festschrift S. Krauss, p. 92. ⁷⁸ E.L. Sukenik, in Studies in Memory of A. Gulak and S. Klein, Jerusalem 1942,

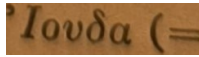
p. 133 (Hebrew), also in transcription.

⁷⁹ H.L. Ginsberg (op. cit., p. 59, n. 60), pp. 428-429; Dalman, Grammatik, p. 102. The following is an interesting example of the appended n in Jerome's writings: Nasin  "the prince" (Gen 23.12). see: C. Siegfried, 'Die Aussprache des Hebräischen bei Hieronymus', IV (1884), p. 53, Thus, there is no need for the emendations of A. Sperber, 'Hebrew based upon Greek and Latin Transliterations', HUCA, XLXIII (1938), p. 207 [offprint p. 105]: 'mh (11 sam 2:24) LXx B: AMMAN. Sperber crosses out the appended n in other places. Cf. also: (=n'my), LXX to Ruth;

(-51mh). This matter seems to be complicated. Alt in ZDPv, LXVIII (1935), pp. 62-63, note, says that the "n" in the name "Turbon" found in an inscription in the Arabah (2nd 3rd cent. c.E.) is a "Graezismus"! He may be right. But perhaps this is in conflict with For this, see: E. Schwyzer, Griechische Gran.

80 In the Jaffa Inscription (SY, p. 80, no. 1), a man is called Ywdh) in

81 The root of the name mom is unclear.



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is in Greek. also > n (See infra, p. 64). The name "Salomc" is written both in the Talmud and in non-

out final *n*. The name —
form $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\omega$. Here also
from *ywnn* "Jonathan,

Jewish as
well as the
word is

found in the > n. From "Johanan" we get

" 'invaOa in an inscription from JafTa. The name "Reuben" occurs three times in the same inscription. name *bnymnyn* "Benjamin" occurs in the form *Devtagt*;82.


With regard to the name *ntryn* — *mryh*, one more fact should be added. A Greek speaker would be apt to consider **mryn* as an accusative and might form a new nominative: *naryh*83. (This is the opinion of Prof. H.J. Polotsky.) The problem with the proposed derivation was that the middle link in the chain *mrym* > *mryn* > *mryh* was missing. This missing link is now found in SA, in the Samaritan Targum (ed. Nutt)84 to Num 26: 59: *mryn!*a In my opinion, the same derivation applies to *gy'* (bn) *hnm* 'CVa11ey of (ben) Hinnom, Hell" which occurs in the New Testament as . The form without *m* is found in LXX to Jos 18:16, in most of the manuscripts. The form in CPA is *ghn'*, *gyhn'*85.

82 On the name *Ealagwto*, see: A. Schlatter, *Die hebräischen Namen bei Josephus*, Gütersloh 1913, p. 110. For .51msw, see, e.g. AC s.v. (His emendation is of course, superfluous.) Note that on a sarcophagus found in Jerusalem (CIS II, no. 156) the inscription '*dn mlkt*' "Sadden the Queen" is found in Syriac script alongside '*dh mlkth*' in Aramaic script. (Klein, JPCI, p. 26, quotes only the Aramaic inscription.) On the form *mrwn*, see: Schlatter, op. cit., p. 73; on the form *mrwn* in Eusebius, see: *The Onomastikon* (trans. E. Z. Melamed) [Hebrew], no. 664; on the name CA.L12 (= SIB'), see: Sukenik, *Kedem*, II (1945), p. 29. It is found also at Rome; see: J.B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, I, Rome 1936, p. 373. The name *Callo appe*^{ars} in a

Byzantine inscription found at Evron, near Nahariah, in September 1951 (Oral communication from Dr. M. Avi-Yonah); (1) *calo* (= *b'lwm*) "in peace" occurs in an inscription from Jaffa (S Y, p. 82, no. 21); *calo* "peace" appears in an inscription from Beth She'arim (ibid., p. 171, no. 36). For the name pair see, e.g. Klein, EG, p. 67; 'lovaOä "Jonathan" (SY, p. 80, no. 1); "Reuben" (p. no. 26; p. 84, no. 34; p. 85, no. 38). Other abbreviated names are to be found there, but they are few in number. BENIAMIC s 'Benjamin" (p. 81, no. 11). The Samaritan Pentateuch reads *bnymym* for *bnymyn*; however, in my opinion, the reason for this "hebrew" ending —yn was felt to be the Aramaic plural ending and the name was "hebraicized" to *bnymym*. In the transcriptions of Jerome both *iamim* and *iaminl* are *wa* see: C. Siegfried, ZAW, IV (1887), p. 48. (This is not given in Speck's list.) unable to check this in the original. in an inscription 83 What is the connection between *mrym-mryn* and *Maol(i)amyn* from Beth She'arim? See: Mt Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, Beth She'arim, vol. II: Greek Inscriptions, Jerusalem 1967, p. 3, no. 8 (Hebrew).

84 J.W. Nutt, Fragments of a Samaritan Targum, London 1874. 85 Schulthess, US, p. 34.

srtJDrr:s GALfLrjAN

 "Gate of the South"⁹⁰ is even more instructive, appears in the form in the passage from the Palestinian cited by Nachmanides. This gives us a southernmost point for the of this phenomenon. A northernmost point is provided by the T Palmyra. The word md'm "something" appears twice in the form alongside the fornīs md'm, and even md'm'⁹². This shows that in under discussion (137 C.F.) this linguistic phenomenon was known in Palmyra. From a geographic point of view, the limits are then Palmyra, and Gaza, and from a chronological point of view, from the first century C.E. (the probable dates of the Jerusalem ossuary inscriptions; Palmyra second century C.E.) until the eleventh century C.E. (the letter from the

Geniza). The rhyme from the Geniza from the same century is additional proof (and present-day Palestinian Arabic?).

However, it seems that this interchange began much earlier, since there are indications of it already in LXX. In LXX, there are interchanges m–n – i. e. m occurs instead of n – and vice versa in transcriptions of personal and place names. In my opinion, this can only be explained by the above-mentioned linguistic change⁹³. There is no doubt as to the antiquity of the form since Origen already notes it (See *infra*, p. 65). The fact that n is written for m at the end of a word shows that this is just a hyper. corrected form, i.e. the writer is aware of the fact that some words are written with final m, but pronounced with n. He thus erred and wrote m at the end of words – especially

uncommon ones – which should actually end in n. A list of randomly selected names will suffice to prove this statement.

The following list of place names is taken from Eusebius' *Onomasticon*⁹⁴:

No. 48: 'ylwn (Jos 10:12) --LXX: Alloy; Eu.: Aild)p. He adds: "Near the village called Ailon to this day,"

90 *G. Kampffmeyer, 'Alte Namen im heutigen Palästina und Syrien', ZDPV, XV (1892),*

p. 65. According to him, this phenomenon occurs in the Arabic of central Syria. In medieval Arabic sources, the two forms with m (darüm) and n occur (ib.). See: SYt J'.v, kpr drwm. *§2. His expla*

91 CIS, JJ/3, no. 3913, J. 5; *ibid.*, no. 3959. see also: Rosenthal, *spl*, p. nation is far-fetched.

92 Rosenthal, *ibid.*

93 Sperber's emendations, *op. cit.*, (p. 61, n. 79), for the Cords tnbjm Jlapcav (P' 234); mym A/je0uacv (p. 236); 'qrbym Axeaßecv (p. 249); etc, are therefore unnecessary. 94 The material is taken from: *The Onomastikon of Eusebius* (trans. E.Z. Melarned)' offprint from *Tarb/z*, XIX (1949); XXI (1951). The numbers refer to the entries in this edition, The variants are taken from A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, Stuttgart 1935.

(Jos 19:3) — A B: *Ασομ*; Eu.: *Ασαν*.

No. 107: (Jos B: Eu.:

NO. 142: (Judg 12:12): B: A: Atlt,,; Eu.: Aioli".

No. 207: h'tm (Nunt 33:6) LXX: so Ett., who adds: "also

called '11001" (See the notes, *ibid.*). *Γεσέμ.*

No. 298: (Gen 47:27) LXX, Eu.:

No. 316: (Jos 10:41)— LXX: roco,,; Eu.: road".

No. 327: g"? (Jos 15:51) ---- LXX: Poüop; Eu.:

No. 366: (Gen 10:12) LXX, Eu.:

No. 397: 'dn (Gen 2:8) LXX, Eu.: sFJöép; but Jerome's transcription is the same as the Hebrew.

No. 414: (Jos 12:12) — LXX: Atla,,; Eu.: *Ἐγλώμ*

No. 416: (Jos 15:25) LXX: Eu.: 'Eaed)/L.

No. 650: mdyn⁹⁵ --- "The city is called Maötâp, , and (the land) is called today MaÖtapÜ.9' Thus, Eusebius knew that in his time the name ended in n, but from the version of LXX which he had before him, he quotes a form with final m (cf. above 'ylwn, b'tm). With regard to LXX, see the various references, e.g. Ex 3: 1; 18: 1, etc. The spelling mdym occurs also in IQ1sa 9: 3; 60: 6.a

No. 669: mrwm (Jos 11 :7)—LXX, Eu. : Maeëov, etc.; Jerome: Merrom

(See the entry, *ibid.*, and the comments of the editor, Dr. Melamed)..

.Some additional names:

1. (Num 26:38 [421) — LXX: laxteav.
 2. 'ylwn (Judg 12:12) —B: Alloy.
 3. 'ylwn (Gen 26:34) — A: Alloy.
 4. 'ylwm (Gen 36:2) A: Elop..
 5. 'ytn (I Kings 5:11) — L+: ALOag.
 6. 'ytn (I Chron 2:6) — B: ALOap⁹⁶.
 7. 'ty'm (Il Sam 23:33) — LXX: Axtap (cf. the critical apparatus).
 8. 'åyn (I Chron 7:19) — LXX: laatg (cf. the critical apparatus).
 9. l?.srwn (I Chron 2:5 — A Vpl: Eceog.
 10. åywn (Ruth 4:18) A: Eceog (but see *ibid.*, v. 19).
 11. rm (Ruth 4:19) —B A + : Aeëav (2 x; cf. the critical apparatus).
 12. 'byrm (Num 16:1', 12; etc.) ---- LXX: Aßteop.
- Interestingly, on

v. 24, there is an addition marked by *, i.e. Origin changed the LXX version to harmonize it with the Hebrew text: $\text{Öa0av}^* \text{tat}$ a\beta etecog . Interesting also is an addition in A^* : $\text{a\beta eteop! CPA:}$ 'byrvvn^{97} .

95 This name was pointed out to me by Rabbi E.s. Rosenthal.

96 see the note, *ibid.*, with regard to the other references. 97
Schulthess, *Ls*, p. 2.

[65 J

STUDIES GAHLEAN

Scholars have occasionally noticed this Phenomenon. Seeligman⁹⁸ hints nt it, and Brønn⁰⁰⁹ also deals with it. The latter who only had a small part of the material before hint, tried to explain it as an orthographic variant. In light of the numerous examples brought above, and the fact that they all occur at the end of the word, this explanation is Untenable. The large number of examples also contradicts Speiser's opinion¹⁰⁰ that this is a Greck phenomenon. As pointed out above, the spelling mdytn —17?dyn) in IQIsa points to this phenomenon.

LXX and IQIsa bring us back to the first centuries B.C.E.; however, we may go one step further. In my opinion, the same jlwn (Neh 3:15) is identical with the name jlwm¹⁰¹. The name ntwm "Nathum" at Elephantine⁰² is only a scribal error for ntwm under the influence of the preceeding ytwm "Yathom." I do not think that the name pairs gr5wm — grjwn, kmhm kmhn or the words tnym — tnyn "serpent, sea monster," etc., in Biblical Hebrew should be considered part of this phenomenon, since they are chronologically much earlier. These words are either a matter of an exegetical explanation, have an undetermined root, or are occasionally influenced by the Aramaic ending —ynl⁰³. With regard to the place name byt hrm — byt hrn, Mazar (Maisler) is of the opinion that the form is to be analyzed as hr + m (or n). The word was understood later on as being composed of the definite article (h—) -l- rm¹⁰⁴, from which the Talmudical name derives⁰⁵.

It should be pointed out, that Brockelmann¹⁰⁶ lists this phenomenon as occurring in the Semitic linguistic family mainly in one place, viz. North Arabia' This explains Arabic 'in "if" Hebrew 'im, etc., and the

98 J.L. Seeligman, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, Leiden 1948, p. 65, n. 40. He seems to be the only one who noticed that this is the Hebrew-Aramaic m-n interchange, and he refers to Ginsberg's article (op. cit., p. 59, n. 60). His note is based mainly on translations of Hebrew words into Greek and not on personal names.

99 E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie* 11/111 Voka/ismlls, Leipzig 1943, p. 435. 100 E.A. Speiser, *JQR*, XXJJJ (1932-33), p. 257.

JOJ M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, Stuttgart 1928, p. 258, is unable to explain the name. According to the explanation given here, there is no reason to emend the name to 'lwtn, even though this is the Corm which appears in several manuscripts and in the Peshitta.

102 Cowley, *AP*, p. 127.

103 See the examples quoted by Seeligman, op. cit.

104 W. Borée, *Die alien Ortsnamen Palästinas*, Leipzig 1930, p. 76, is also of the opinion that there are two forms here.

105 see sy, S. P.

106 Gvc;, J, P. 136, 5 48.

fact that m is rhymed with n in the Qur'ān (as in the contemporary Jewish liturgical poetry!). It is interesting to find this phenomenon close-by both geographically and chronologically. May we assume direct influence? Brockelmann's examples from Medieval Arabic are not to the point, since they are the same above-mentioned places! 07 in the area of Palestine and Syria, and these are just Aramaic loans in Arabic. In light of this, it may be proposed that Arabic *balasān* "balsam" is a borrowing from Palestinian Aramaic¹ 08.

Under what conditions did this linguistic change take place? There are many verbs and nouns with final m where there is no indication of this change! The reason for this seems clear. If one examines the list of words given at the beginning of the discussion (*supra*, p. 59), it will be seen that most of them are undeclinable: 'dm — 'dn "person"; 5m — 'n "there"; grdwm—grdwn "gallows"; drwm — drwn "South"; 'ymwm— 'ymwn "form"; etc. But in declinable words such as 'ni "mother," m was restored due to the "Systemzwang," i.e. since m remained in declination — 'm' "my mother," etc. — it was preserved in cases such as 'm "mother" where m occurred in the final position. In place names like jpr'm "Shefaram" where n was kept, as against mrwn mrwm) "Meron," either the declinable preposition 'im "with" or the noun 'am "nation" influenced. Theoretically, it may also be supposed that this linguistic change did not reach every single place, just as it did not reach the areas where CPA and SA(?) were spoken.

D. The Gutturals (Laryngeals and Pharyngeals) in Galilee

Previous Opinions on the Subject

It is an accepted fact that the gutturals were weakened in Galilee. Differences of opinion on the subject center around the extent of this weakening. Dalman¹ 09 --- who devoted an entire chapter in his grammar to a comprehensive treatment of the problem was of the opinion that there was indeed a weakening, but not a complete confusion. On the

other hand, KaJ11e1J0 claims that there was no clear pronunciation of the gutturals when the Masoretes began their work. With regard to the

107 op. cit., n. 90.

108 For the forms of the word, see: Löw, Flora, J, pp. 302—303.

109 Grammatik, pp. 57 ff.; 96 jr. See especially, p. 58 (bot.). 110 Kallie, CC, pp. 86-95, especially, p. 94.

confusion this seems to be approximately the position of J.N. Epstein¹¹ According to this opinion, the use of h, 11, and ' in Galilean texts reflects only the historical orthography, as is the case in Mandaic and TAJ¹² in the East, and SA in Palestine¹³. If later we find that the value of the gutturals is known in the Masoretic period, then — according to Kahle this is attributable only to the influence of the Arabs from whom the Masoretes learned anew their pronunciation¹⁴. It goes without saying how important a new clarification of this problem may be, even if it does not lead to a final solution. This matter now has added significance with the discovery of IQIsa — in which there is clear proof of the loss of the gutturals already in the First Temple Period ¹ 15.

Direct Evidence

Before examining the nature of the texts themselves in which the orthography may mask the true state of affairs, we should first clarify the direct (i.e. the contemporary) evidence on the nature of their pronunciation. Logically, our primary source should be evidence from the sources closest to the matter, viz. evidence from the inhabitants of Palestine and from Palestinian sources. Secondarily, evidence from foreigners, i.e. from statements in the Babylonian Talmud, may be employed. This is even more to the point when the witnesses are prejudiced in their judgment.

In this case, scholars did not investigate the situation according to the above criteria. For some reason they relied on the dictum of the Babylonian Talmud (Erub. 53b): bny yhw dh dyqy lsn' "The Judeans are careful in speaking," whereas bny glyl (d)l' dyqy lyn' "The Galileans are not careful in speaking." ¹¹⁶ Then, as proof, there follows the famous story about the Galilean (ibid.): dhhw' br glyl' dhwh q'zyl w'mr lhw 'mr

111 He deals with this in several places in his book. See: MNM, p. 8 ff.; 183 ff.; 1227 ff.

J 12 See: Nöldeke, MG, p. 57 ff., with regard to Mandaic and TA.

113 see, e.g. Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Tarbiz*, X (1939), p. 334.

114 So Kahle, CC, pp. 94—95. He objects to the opinion that the Masoretes learnt the pronunciation from the inhabitants of Judea. (This was the contention of Leander who also believed that the gutturals were not pronounced in Galilee.)

J 15 See my book: *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, Jerusalem 1959, p. 42 (Hebrew); H. Yalon, *Kirjath Sepher*, XXVII (1950-51), P. 166• 116 Incidentally, the sentence attributed to the Judeans does not prove that they pronounced the gutturals,

lyh: glyl'h hmr /.,mr

"A certain Galilean once went about inquiring 'Who hag Who amar?' 'J?ooliðll

Galilcan,' they said to him, 'do you mean for riding, 'wine' to drink, 'wool' for clothing, or a 'lamb' for

slaughtering?' " According to this story the Galilcan did not distinguish between ('intmar "8bccp9'), 11 (which is etymologically li (bāmārā —Arabic Ilcbrw liāmör "ass")), and li which is etymologically b

hiltlār

Arabic bamr Ilcbrw //cmcr "wine") and ' ('āmar "wool"). Cf. Also the other stories which Dalman attempts to explain. In attempting to explain this story, three positions may be taken: 1. The story may be taken at its face value, 2, The story has no value at all and merely reflects the situation actually prevailing in Babylonia where the gutturals were apparently completely lost. 3. The story contains a grain of truth, but, in the manner of Talmudic legend, it is greatly exaggerated. The correct interpretation depends on the facts to be found in the Palestinian sources, i.e. explicit reports and linguistic evidence from reliable texts.

What do the Palestinian sources have to say concerning the pronunciation of the gutturals?

A Daraita (Y. Ber. 4d, according to YFG 7) states: tny 'yn m'byrym l'pny htybh 19 /pypyn (cd. pr.: /gypnyn) WI' b5nyn WI' 1b' wny m'pny jhn v'wßyn Il)'tyn hwtyn(!) w'ynyn 'ynyn (ed. pr.: hyhyn llytyn w'yynyn "yn)a "It is forbidden to go before the ark (to lead in the prayers) inhabitants of Haifa, Jcisan, and Tibon, since they pronounce /get's like he's, and 'ayi//s like alef'g (cd. pr.: he9g like /;tet's, and 'ayin's like ale/'s)." Birnilar statement is given in the Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 24b) where

only the confusion ' is mentioned, The following statement is also found (Jlcr. 320): dby R. 'ly'zr y'qb qwryn l'lpyn 'yynyn

wl'yynyn 'Ipyn ^אin tjjc school of Eliczcr, alef's were pronounced like 'ayin's and 'ayil/b like ^אalef's.

J 10m Ille above biatcmnts we Iearn not only that the correct pronunciafion of llje gutturals was lost in the places mentioned, but, conversely, contcjinporoncoubly il).cir correct pronunciation was nol lost in other even in Golilcc, Jf this were not the case, what point would there bc in placing o prohi bition on just the inhabitants of the above-jnentioned

^{places?} Moreover, there is no reason to believe that the Ijarailha testifies to all o] Palestine. It fj,ccrnp, reasonable to that it applies only to

Galilee ood the surrounding territory.

In addition to this *Baraita* — probably to be dated to the 2nd cent. C.E. — there is definite evidence for the end of the 2nd cent. C.E., as Dalman has correctly pointed out. The Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 24b) says of R. Hiyya: *kš'ih mgy' 'sl whkty lYHWH l' nmš't mhrp wmgdp* 'When you come to the verse 'I will wait for the Lord' (Is 8:17) will you not be a reviler and a blasphemer?' (Rashi comments on this passage: 'He would read *het*'s for *he*'s, and he appeared to say: 'I will hit'.')¹¹⁸ This implies that the others were able to distinguish between these two consonants, but only R. Hiyya, who was a Babylonian (cf. *infra*, p. 69) pronounced *h* for *h*. There are additional examples which show that Galilean *h* appears

the cent,
cent, C
'I nltud (Meg.
2M)) hrp j
7) will on
this

the Ionian Talmud as *h*:

The name (br :*'yr*') (b. Ze'era)" is written in the Baby¹¹⁹
The place name *kpr l.mnyh* Ionian Talmud in the form '*hbh*
'Ahava.

■ *'nnvh 'nn*) "Kefar Vanania" appears in the Babylonian Talmud in the form *hyny* (See *infra*, the list of Galilean place names). Similarly, *gheeh* "Gebiah" in Galilee is called *gbyhh* in the Babylonian Talmud. R. "R. Huna" in the Palestinian Talmud is R. *hwn'* in the Babylonian Talmud¹²⁰. This is explicit proof that at the end of the 2nd cent.

C.E. *h* and *h* were two distinct phonemes in Galilee¹²¹. Nevertheless, there is proof for a certain linguistic change to which insufficient attention has been paid until now, viz. the linguistic change *li* > '¹²².

BR, p. 254, reads according to Ms. V, as follows: 'wh 'wh 'wh 's^qymnw 'm(r) R. 'l'zr bR. Stn''''ii Shyw bqyym b'prwt lcnl.lj (b)glylh swbyn lhwyh 'b' yh " 'A ruin, a ruin, a ruin I will make it' (Ezek 21:32) — R. Eleazar

118 Sh)h qwr' Ill)'tyn h)'hyn nr'h k'wmmr whkyty.

■ see; J.N. Epstein, *Tarbiz*, V (1934), p. 258. '&ww' occurs twice in BR, Ms. V, p. (,20 (In the basic text once: 'hbh); 'lovw' by R. z'wrh (z'yr') *ibid.*, pp. 1233, 1235. See Epstein's opinion on this phenomenon in *Tarbiz*, 1/3 (1930), p. 136.

i 20 Svc, e.g. iTankel, *op. cit.* (p. 36, n. 85), pp. 73—74. Not surprisingly the reading inn' is common in TY (i have not checked the reliable texts on this point.) i 21 According 10 j)alman, *Granunalik*, p. 59, Jerome (4th 5th cents. C.E.) testifies to this, illis is completely clear. See Spevber, *op. cit.* (p. 61, n. 79), PP• i 10011 lojrpiint pp. 8-91, and infig, p. 89, i 22 Sce: L. Ginzberg, *Essays and Studies in Metilory of Linda R. Miller*, New York 1938, pp. 80-81

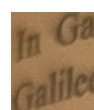
123 i or a discussion of illis phenomenon in an Arabic dialect, see: CK. Rabin, *Ancient 'Vot-A/abiun*, London 1951, p. 84 ff.

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01'

POINTS JN

t, g, Simcon they said: call 'They a scrpcent were experts 'iwyä (for on the hiwyä')." quality of This soil shows like a serpent.that in



in the 2nd cent. C.E. It) % That this linguistic change is not limited to just this onc word is shown by the following examples:

J. Debarim Rabba (ed. Lieberman), p. 1 : '(mr) R.S.D.L. bglyl' qwryn lhtr' 'tr' "R. Joshua b. Levi said: 'In Galilee they call a breach 'athrå (for athrå)'."124 This testimony is from the 3rd cent. C.E.

■ Echa Rabba to Lam 2:1, according to the Pezarro edition125: 'ykh ■h'pw 'mr R. 1m' br R. &nyn': 'yk hyyb h' brwgzyh 'yt 'tr' d;wwbyn ■'yyb' " 'How in His anger He set under a cloud' — R. Mama b. R. Hanina said:

'How God has convicted in His anger! There is a place where they call the guilty one 'ayyābā (for hayyābā)'." These examples do not prove anything for Galilee, since this phenomenon is found also in "Arabia" (See n. 124), in SA, and in CPA (infra, p. 75). The fact that R. Judah the Prince and Bar Kappara call R. Hiyya — either in jest or disdain — by the name 'yy' (B. M.Kat. 16b; Ker. 8a) is proof of the change¹²⁶. It must be assumed that this is the vulgar form and not R. Hiyya's own pronunciation, since R. Hiyya pronounced b as h (See supra, p. 70). The story about Hiyya, Rabbi Judah the Prince, and Bar Kappara testifies to the fact that in Galilee at the end of the 2nd cent. C.E., b was still pronounced.

124 This saying is quoted in DR, p. 681 (according to the editio princeps) in a different form, without mentioning the name of the place. In other places: b'rbyy' swwbyn "In Arabia they call," and the statement is attributed to R. Leazar b. R. Simeon for bwyh-'wyh "serpent" in Galilee. Incidentally, this shows that these are not the words of the redactor of BR, as Ginzberg, *ibid.*, suspected. In another place the statement refers to Arabia, but in the name of R. Levi who often cites forms from Arabia (i.e. Northern Transjordan; see: S Y, S.P. 'rbyy'); cf. Theodor's commentary, BR, p. 682. It seems that two statements were confused here: 1) That of R. Leazar b. R. Simeon (Or perhaps: R. Simeon b. Lakish) regarding Galilee; 2) that of R. Levi regarding Arabia. For the statements on Arabia, see: W. Bacher, *Die Agada der palästinischen "moraer*, J.L. Strassburg 1896, p. 303, n. 3. ■ ed. Buber, p. 96, with slight differences. If the reading is correct, 'here is also an interpretation based on the interchange k

126 So also Ned, 4Ja (according to the reading in the Sip Biéqubbeyet); see: Epstein, MNM, p. 185. In my opinion there is no proof from Bar Kappara that the interchange

■ was widespread in the southern region. Perhaps he was just following the local Galilean custom (cf. loc. cit.). The fact that we find this interchange mentioned three times concerning the same name, but never with regard to any other name, may show that thus easily we are remembered dealing with a period when the interchange was still uncommon and was

r Oi l

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Of course, the expression *hglyl' qwryn ' 'Jn Galilee they call" rcfcr to all of Galilee. R. Mama b. Vanina would not have said:*

does not
1: 'yt 'tr'

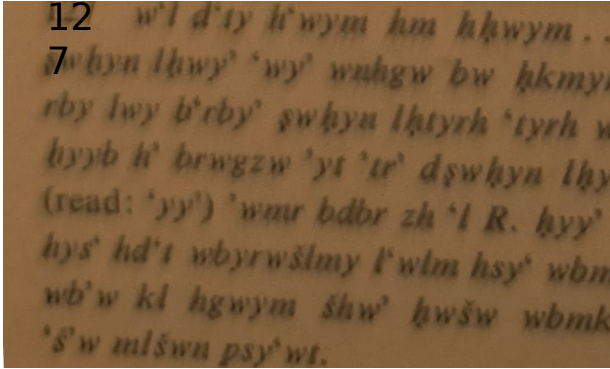
C'there is a place" were this a widespread phenomenon in Galilee R. Lcvi would not have bothered to mention it together with "Arabia" *cvcn* though he often cites pronunciations from there were this phe. nomcnon prevalent in all of Galileet²⁶. This again points out two things. 1) The *h* was pronounced (all of the references concerning 'ayin); 2) The *h* had begun to change into (Does 'yt 'tr' "there is a place" mean Ga. lilec?) This conclusion is confirmed from Rabbinic sources, from SA, to a small extent from CPA, and from place names.^a

Rabbinic Sources

Nachmanides in his commentary on the Torah (Deut 2:23: *wh'wym* "and the Avvim") states: "In my opinion, the Avvim ('wym) are the Hivvim (*hwym*). In BR (chap. 26, p. 254) — R. Eleazar b. R. Simeon said: 'Jn Galilee they call the serpent 'iwyā (for &iwyā).' And the sages sometimes called the snake 'kn' and sometimes &kyn'. And they said (Wayyikra Rabba, chap. 30, p. 697): 'And he prayed' — R. Levi said: 'In Arabia they call a breach &ätirā (for 'ätirā).' And they said (Echa Rabba, chap. 2): 'How has God covered a cloud in His anger' R. J.darna b. R. Wanina said: 'How has God committed them in His anger! There is a place where they call a guilty person 'ayyābā (for tayyābā), /guqqim ("rungs of a ladder") — 'uqqim.' Concerning R. kliyya the phrase is common: 'What does Slyya say in this matter?' Our Rabbis used to say that the phrase *h's/.l hd't* 'diversion of the mind' is in place of *hsy' hd't*. Jn the Palestinian Talmud and in the Mishnah *hsy'* always occurs (instead of *hsy/,i*): *uhsy' 't lbw ml'kwl fE*le abandoned the thought of eating (Mishnah Toh. VI], 8). According to the commentators, 'wsw (Joel 4:11) *is* the same as 'hasten


(m.pl.)!' In the Mechilta (ed. Lauterbach, p. 57), R. Josiah says: 'Do not read wps/.lty ('and I will protect'), but "Jjs'iy ('and J will step over')'."127


126 Sce Liae. place names mentioned supra, n. 124.



bglyl'
. wbbR'Jyt rbh
'me R. 'I'zr brby .
• bw 4Åmym
Iqrwtw 'kn'
wlqrwtw w'tnrw •
• wimrw 'ykh y'yb
b'pw h' 'me rby
(Ina' bR. &nyn' 'YR
lāyb' 'yb' āwqytn

swqym wmwrgl hw' bljwn knih 'WY'
&dbr 'l R. Ivy' wk n nhgw rbwtynw lwmr 'l h.vslldt
s*hw' l' wlnd hsys bbznjnh whsy' 't Ibw ml'kwll wkn
'mrw hmprijytn h'bmkyll' rby y'Jyh 'wmr 'l tqry
wps&ty 'l' wps'tY• • •

If we leave out the Midrashic material, such as pshty — ps'ty, from which no certain proof can be adduced (see below), we have still found words in the Palestinian Talmud in which ' is used for h: 'wqym  lt,.qym) "rungs of a ladder" 9'128; hsy'w (= hsyliw) "they neglected"; R. R. lgyy') "R. Hiyya.9' A glance at the dictionary shows that this is indeed the case. These words are characteristic of the language of Galilee.

Besides the material which Nachmanides lists, there are many additional signs of this interchange in reliable texts: tw'lt — twhlt "hope, expectation" BR, p. 337 (Ms. V: tw< see the critical apparatus. The interpretation is based on Gen 9:20: wyhl n/' 'And Noah began'); similarly, ibid., p. 257 (no variants). The original form seems to have been tw'lt; however, since the scribes knew that ' was occasionally pronounced like b, they were apt to write an ' for an original (hypercorrection). Instead of nd&wk "we will mock" BR, p. 699, Ms. V2 reads: nd'wk. gby'h br qwsm "Gebiah b. Qosem" ibid., p. 666 (Ms. V) is identical with gbyh' bn psys' in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 91a). From the story it is clear that gby'h gbyb "hump-back." As was shown above, Galilean  = Babylonian h (cf. ibid.: hgby' "the hump-back"; gbhtk "your hump" 669). Theodor pointed out in his commentary to the passage, ibid., that Pseudo-Jonathan translates gibben "hunchback" (Lev 21:20) by gbyk, var. gby'129. The meaning of the word gbll is undoubtedly "humpback" (See the dictionaries). Even gbylg wgb&t (Bekh. 45b, according to the reading of the Aruch, s. v.), refers to this meaning, according to the explanation of the Talmud: b'ryk' Smyth. Rashi comments130: "Since he is slight he cannot bear his stature and is bent over." The explanation given in the Aruch is: "Tall and bent over."131 The correctness of this explanation is proved from CPA. The translation of cvvxdatovoa "bent over" (Luke J J) is gby11'132. It is clear that the following passage (BR, chap. 12, p. 102; Ms. V is deficient at this point) is based on this root: kngd Sjh

dbrym jny!lw m'dm hr'jwn w'ylw hn zyww w&yyw
 wqwmtw . 'mr R. 'yybw qwmtw gb'h wn"t jlm'h 'mh
 "Corresponding to the six things which were taken from
 Adam: His radiance, his life, his stature, etc, R. Akiba said:
 'His stature was diminished and became 100

128 on this word, see: J.N. Epstein, Tarbiz, 1/3 (1930), p.
 135.

129 This is missing in Ginsburger's edition. 130 Ipy Sdq hw'
 'ynw y/cwl Isbwl qwmtw wnkpp.

131

Y(') m(pr'ym) 'rwk wg&n.

132 There is no need for the emendation in Schulthess, LS, p. 33.

twmth
cubitan

cubits
wn'tt
ibid., p.
intercha
The ori

(cf commentary). Simitnr!y: gvw'h (or: gwvv'h)

'mh "Nic stature wn• dimini«hed h and in became other places). 100 The

J (according to Me V; here

'Ebo«om€' nl<0 due to thiQ linguictic change. hnngc originnl „ form . interchange wfiQ most likely mt%/pyn mth/pyn (cf. Job "they .3 1 : 33: faint" héhuhht Tog. 'tin Toa myn.

134

j, 8 (cd. Zuckerman 21510) belongs 'yhvvr heret*\$, 'yr "extension aq does 'rpt/' of — the hrpt,city

136. The reading &yhtcr •yr limits" (Y. Maas. 50d; Soga 22d)t37 is due to this change. The Possibility should be invcstigatcd whether 'ybwr in this sense is not really hybwr *'connection." "bich was written with ' because no connection with ■ was fc1t ¹³⁸. The interchanges ltrgwzw (hrgwzw) 'kwzw ('kwzw) (both words are euphemisms for "buttocks") seem to be based on this phenomcnon¹³⁹.

Additional examples from reliable texts: 'wqh dsw/mh "the rung of the ladder" YFG 19423; hsy' d't "distraction of thought" YFG 1388. From the regular editions, Dalman (Grammatik, pp. 98—99) lists the following words: 'b)'f— 11bysf "a certain dish"; rtli — rt' "to boil"¹⁴⁰• 'zm— hzm "to cut, trim." It seems proper to check the Galilean vocabulary from this point of view. L. Ginzberg's suggestion that '!ypt pnym h!ybt pnym "'facial expression" is also based on this phonetic change ¹⁴ 1.

A Midrash in Debarim Rabba (ed. Lieberman), p. 73, is explicable in light of this linguistic change: 'ly pljt 'trw"y 'lw plsty jhn bqy'yn btkbjcst ""tydyn lhywt mkbsyn klyhm 'l ys<r'l " 'Philistia, cry aloud because of me' (Ps 60:10) — These are the Philistines who are expert at washing (clothes), and in the future they will wash the clothes of Israel." This Midrash was properly interpreted by Z. Ben-klayyim¹⁴² on the basis of SA: r" "to wash" (Arabic r&d, Hebrew r&s, Aramaic rll' > SA.

J33 See Gcsenius-Duhl S.P. lib. This is not quoted in Brockelmann, LS2, s.v. 'b.

134 On this word, see: AC and AAC, s.v. lib (II).

1.35 S. Lieberman, Tosepheth Rishonim, J, p. 219.

J36 IpsLein, MNM, p. 12, n. 2.

137 p. 10.

J 3b Cf. (= d'mt) rby Jm'h'tl bn IqyJ ykwl 'ny I'Sb't Jth' byt tn'wn tnt'brt

■"R Silbeon b. Lakish said: I can make it happen that Beth Nlaon and Tiberias uill cojne together" (Y. IQ-rub. V, I, 22b). The relationship between this root and ■ %ibrl' "bh001, sprout" should be investigated,

J 39 The material has been gathered, by Epstein, MNM, p. 10 tr.

cr. CPA, infra, n, 155. op.

(p. 70, n. 122), pp. 79-80.

142 Turbiz, XIX (190), p. 200,

[74]

■ for the reason, cf. *infra*). The Midrash is based on the language of Galilee, i.e. general Aramaic GA r". (To be sure, this root is not to be found in any GA text, but only in SAO) If JON. Epsteinldj is correct in taking 'wzq &wzq "holding fast" (B. Mullin 94a), then we have an additional example. Note that this word occurs in a Baraita attributed to R. Eliezer b. Jacob in whose academy 'ayin's were pronounced as alef's, and alef's as 'ayin's (B. Ber. 32a; but there were apparently two scholars by this name). The expression 'g 'wgh "he drew a circle" (Mishnah **Taan.** 111, 8) lig &wgh. The root lawg occurs in Biblical Hebrew, TO, and Syriac (See dictionaries). Is CPA GA 'gl "to go around" (so the dictionaries)? What is the relationship between ps/i — p' "to burst open" in the Palestinian Talmud¹⁴⁴?

Galilean place names (though not all of them!) testify to this linguistic change. The biblical 'änå&äråt (Jos 19:19) occurs with ' in the Midrash as n'wrn, and in Arabic as an-Nä'üra¹⁴⁵. kpr Imnyh is called in Rabbinic sources kpr linn (BR, Ms. V, p. 235) — 'nn and in the Babylonian Talmud kpr hynh¹⁴⁶ (cf. *supra* on Ilkyty — hkyty; '&vvvvh — 'hbh). The place name &wsyph is today ' Usufya¹⁴⁷. The identification of &prym — 'prym today is doubtful (see below) ¹⁴⁸. If the other place names preserved the original 11 (see below), then this shows that this linguistic change did not spread everywhere. The phrase bglylh yvvv&yn "in Galilee they call" (*supra*, p. 72) does not necessarily refer to all of Galilee. Note: 'yt 'tr' "there is a place." This explains why the Palestinian poets rhyme J/ with '149.

The situation in SA is very interesting. At first glance, the orthography seems to be completely haphazard, and no reason may be discerned why the scribes interchange all of the gutturals without distinction. However, even a cursory investigation will show a surprising phenomenon. As a sample of SA, let us take the Samaritan Targum (ed. Brüll) to Gen 43. In order to arrive at the true state of affairs, we will list all words with

MNM, p. 408.

144 Does hwzrr "crab-apple" see: LOW, Flotu, 111, p. 246 jr.

145 Klein, EG, p. 115.

146 Ibid., pp. 128-129.

Ibid., p. 135.

148 For example, *ibid.*, p. 23. The equation is however, far-fetched (oral conununica-

tion from Prof. Mazar).

149 Kahie, CO, pp. 91-92; *idem*, ZAIV, xxXIX (1921), p. 235. The conclusions which Kallie drew from these examples concerning the gutturals ace, therefore, totally invalid.

STUDIES GALILEAN

etymological h, keeping apart those words which preserved the h and those words in which it was replaced by c.

With h: 'h "brother" (app. 10 x); ' "he sent" (app. 8 x); /.lktñ knew" (3 x); hmr "ass" (2 x); 11m' "bread" (2 x); rhmym "mercy" (2 X), pth "he opened"; hy "living"; 'n/.mn "we"; h/q "part"; lid "one" "he saw"; 11M'/1 (written: 11b') "to tell"; dbl "he feared"; s/.lh "he washed (intr.)". Total: Fifteen roots.

With 'zr "he returned" (app. 7 x); syb't, "150• \$b'd "a 'wrñ little "another"; bit" (3 x); 'br n't "he went down" (7 X); 'Yb "he found guilty "friend". Total: Six words.

From an initial survey, it is immediately clear that all the six words in which 11 is replaced by ' do not appear in the Pentateuch. (This is the only part of the Bible which the Samaritans possess.) Of the fifteen words in which 11 is not replaced by ', eleven are found in the Pentateuch, and of the remaining four, three are very common in Aramaic. What then is the explanation of this phenomenon? There seems to be only one explanation: In SA all bet's became ', but the scribes continued to write those words

which they knew from the Pentateuch with the same orthography to which they were accustomed. The same applies to the very common Aramaic words (dbl, &wh, /gzh) which were ingrained in the language before the linguistic change li > ' took place. But words whose original orthography the scribes did not thoroughly know were written with ' without any restraint. As proof of this explanation, consider the following: Because of the connection with Hebrew 'lid, the word lid "one" when written independently is spelled with 11. But in the phrase yb&d "a little bit" (occurring also in GA) < :syb "fiber" + lid "one" the connection between lid and 'lul was not felt, and, therefore, the scribes wrote 9b'd— 9b't. The spelling tr/g "gate" (Aramaic tr') survives from the period in which the change

took place. The scribes apparently thought that the original root was trh (cf. tw/glt — tw'lt "hope, expectation" in GA). The word lwd "alone" Illh'd) exemplifies the situation at its final stage when no remnant of the guttural remained.

This chapter is only a sample. The situation is, in fact, the same throughout the Samaritan Targum. The first stage in the loss of the gutturals was the change > % however, the orthography has masked this change to some extent ^{15J}.

150 The same word occurs in GA; cf. supra, p. 71,

151 The phonetic change > ' in SA has already been noted by other scholars. See:

NOIdeke, MG, p. 58, n. 1; however, the lack of consistency has not been explained

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POfNrs jN

There are indications of this linguistic change also in CPAIS2e Schulthess brings the following examples: Ær/.1— Ær' "lasciviousness"; 'b/.1—jb' "increase in value." Add the following examples: 'wb' hwb') "bosonl"153, • r ' t (— r//t < rt//) "to boil"154; and perhaps: bprwn 'prwn) "155' a. Is /.tgl "to go around" (occurring also in GA) the same as

"Ephron

'gl? In any event, it seems that this change did not encompass the whole vocabulary156.

The source of this linguistic change seems to be in Palestine. It should, however, be noted that it apparently began several hundred years before the period under discussion, i.e. at the beginning of the Second Temple period. The names 'nn, 'nny, 'nnyh each occurring once in the Bible in Nehemiah and Chronicles — can only be explained as variants of hnn, &nny, Imnyh157. It is no coincidence that nearly all the instances of these names are to be found at the beginning of the Second Temple Period — about twenty times in the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles — rarely in Jeremiah, and even less in other biblical books¹⁵⁸. It is difficult to believe that the large number of occurrences of the names hnn, hnny, hnnyh, 'nny and 'nnyh at Elephantine is coincidental¹⁵⁹ b. Did this linguistic change take place in

Babylonia where the gutturals disappeared¹⁶⁰? We must, of course, assume that the names 'nn and the like, in the Palestinian Talmud (e.g. R. 'nn YFG 7537) and in the Gaonic period are actually &nn161. It is, however, clear that on the basis of only one name

.152 Schulthess, Grammatik, p, 19, 4.

153 Idem, les, P. 140.

154 Ibid., p. 196.

155 Ibid., p. 68. It is difficult however to utilize the transcriptions of Semitic proper names in CPA, which are taken from LXX and the New Testament. Occasionally, it is clear that the translators did not know the nature of the name, but knowing that LXX could not represent the gutturals, they restored them though not always the proper ones. There are also interchanges in the various manuscripts, e.g. 'dy 4,1y z'iaåL (Schulthess, LS, p. 3); 111mdm %lmdm Elgaöap (ibid., p. 64). Hebrew 'laymn A'/.wav appears as likymn! (ibid., p. 63); y'y leaaac as y'ys ibid., p. 78.

156 Cf. ibid., p. 126, s.v. n'm.

157 Noth, op. cit. (p. 66, n. 101), p. 184, had difficulty in explaining Olese names and proposed a far-fetched solution. see Gesenius-Buhl.

159 Cowley, AP, Index.

160 Noth, op. cit. (p. 66, n. 101), p. 254, gives examples in AkKadian tran»litecauoo,

161 Bacher, op. cit. (p. 7), n. 124), 111, P. 547, n. 5, identifies with Onyn' br 'ysy in BR, chap. JV (p. 28). But Ms. V reads: 'ton'. see Bucher, loc. cu., an additional example. In any event, these interchanges should be noted. 'nny occurs also in Palmyrene. See: H. Chajes, 'Beiträge zur nordsemitischen Onomatologie%

stttDtrS

no conclusion can be drawn as to the provenance of this yet phenomenon since names has? a tendency to detach themselves from their original seun•e and pass to a new area in their new form.

Indications of the Weakening of the Gutturals in Jewish Sources

According to the eOden, the change & > began in Galilee at the latest at the end of the 2nd cent. C.E. (the time of R. }liyya). At first, it began perhaps in a few places, in certain social classes¹⁶², or in careless SB•ech or perhaps under all these conditions. In the 2nd 3rd cents.

C.E. (the time of R. Eleazar b. R. Simeon and R. Levi), it was still not a general phenomenon. It was general (when?) in SA. There are indications of it in CPA. The evidence proves that ' was an independent phoe neme distinct from ' (and h). From the 6th cent. C.E. there is clear proof that a change took place in the pronunciation of the other gutturals, especially The evidence comes from Jewish liturgical poetry of that period:

1. R. Eleazar ha-Qallir rhymes & with h (hr "mountain" with nbtr "chosen"; see Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary to Eccl 5: 1).
2. Yannai (Piyyute Yannai, ed. Zulay, p. 271, l. 55) writes hwggh "celebrating" (= /gwggh) in the h-line of an alphabetic acrostic poem..
3. The name of an early poet of unknown date¹⁶³ is
hdwt' = lulwt'
"joy."
4. Jn an anonymous Seli&a¹⁶⁴ (penitential poem), which — according to the editor is from the period of

Yose b. Yose in Palestine, a word beginning with 11 is found in a h-line: hn . . , hlw' . . . &nwn "behold . . •

Si/;ungberichle der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, P.-h. Klasse, CXLUI 0900), p. 36.

162 R. Aha informs us of differences in pronunciation among different classes. Cf. Shir ha-Shirim Rabba on the verse: wdgllw fly 'hbh "And his banner over me is love" (Song 2'.4): '(mr) r(by) 'm h'rs Jqwr' l'hbh 'ybh kgwn w'hbt w'ybt ' 'R. Aha said: 'An ignorant man reads 'hate' instead of 'love' by saying, for instance, wer'âyabt'i Cand you shall hate') instead of wé'âhabîâ ('and you shall love')...

Jcpresnted as follows: 'âhabtâ > 'â'abiâ > 'âyabtâ (glide vowel).

The This change phenomenon may be is round in YEG 17520: /lyh "that child," i.e. hâhea > ',ihen > ',i'en >

■/,hn, 'hit, see: Dalman, Grammatik, p. 111. This is for the interchange h but this interchange requires a separate investigation. Apparently, it is not directly connected with the problem or the gutturals.

163 see: J.N. Epstein, Xu (1941), p. 78, roc additional examples. M. zu1aY now disagrees with this identification. See: Tarbig, XXII (1952), p. 28 ff.

164 Printed in (Festschrift in Honor of Z. Schocken's seventieth Birthday), Jerusalem 1948. This was brought to my attention by Mr. H. Yalon.

is not . . . merciful," and in the It-line a word beginning with h: hrpwny , **hm** . . . 115m "they reviled me they , the name."

5. The following words are rhymed: tpwli "apple," tpt/g "you will open," tntli "you will dismember," b'yth "in its time."¹⁶⁵

6. Biblical fragments from the Cairo Geniza collected by Kahle in which the gutturals are not vocalized at all, indicating that the vocalizer did not pronounce them.^a However their geographic provenance is unknown, and there are no certain indications as to their date, even though Kahle's estimate seems reasonable.

Nevertheless, at first glance, we have clear indications that in a certain place in Palestine the pronunciation of the gutturals was confused. Since the main cultural center was in Galilee, it may be assumed that the provenance of the above texts — liturgical poetry and biblical fragments — was Galilee.

Furthermore, Dalman collected in his grammar a number of examples of the interchange of the gutturals in the Palestinian Talmud and the

Midrashim¹⁶⁶. This material could be excluded on the grounds that it is due to the copyists of the texts; however, the reliable texts not only substantiate this interchange, but the variant readings in BR show that the scribes tried to restore that form which seemed to them to be correct, i.e. ' is often found in reliable texts instead of ' , whereas in the other manuscripts ' is restored.

Examples:

' for original ' : BR, Ms. L: 'ygwl— Ms. V: 'ygwl, "loaf of bread" 503; **rbw** (= 'rbw) (place name) 309¹⁶⁷; j'bh "wax" 1136 (corrected or explained in the margin j'wh•, Ms. G: s%'wwh•, in FPT 17 (Gen 35:25): j'b'); qym'h "somewhat" 461 (but p. 170: qym'h); 'dsndl' 'd dsndl') "as long as the shoe (is on your foot)" 433; 'b'bwt "vomiting" 570 — 170168; b'w5r (= b'w5r) "with wealth" 681 (This is the reading also in Mss. LM; the other mss.: ^Gwjr!); 'Srh "ten" 683 is glossed in the margin:

¹⁶⁵ Kallie, Cc, p. 91 [CG2, p. 167, n. 21. The other examples in which is rhymed with do not constitute proof!

CLARIFICATION OF GRAMMATICAL

167 The cl city . lhe is mentioned with regard to the interpretation of the verse: wh'rbym , 'yr byysn 'rbw "And the ravens brought (1 Kings 17:6) — a^{lb}t•y^d in d'istrict of Beisan, and it is called Arbu." The reading with is found in 118 the better mss. L,G; but in che others: 'rbw, with % undec the influence the

However, the etymology of word is unclear, see
p. 170, and Krauss et al., AAC, s.Y. 'bbyt.

commentary, BR,

'strh; hw'yl (= hw'yl) "he has derived benefit" 599; 'ybly'h 'yn bly'h) "fountain of Beliah" 308. The root /c'r k'r "to be ugly" 824-825 (8 X; k'vcrym is "corrected" twice to k'wrym) furnishes no proof, The root k'? also occurs on pp. 158, 3419 451; "corrected" to k'r 654. In this case it seems that Ms. V (and other reliable texts) reflect the original form, since — as Syriac shows the 9 is original The form in TB is k'r and the attempts at correction derive from this fact¹⁶⁹,

YFL: 'dyyn (= 'dyyn) "still" 25724; 27212; 28024; m'wmd "apostate" 274 (2 x). In my opinion, it is doubtful whether mjwmd m5w'md "baptized"¹⁷⁰ even though we find the spelling msw'm[d] YFG 12129 (but *mšwm[d]*, m'wmd ib. 28521). As was noted by Bacher there are substantial reasons for rejecting this identification.

YFE: k'wr "ugly" 25 (5 x). The forms ':swt' "kneading trough" GS 422; *ʿašbāt kōn* FPT 28 (Deut 28: 17) are not entirely clear. It occurs with '

in other places (see the dictionaries), with ' in TO, but in Syriac 'yt' with '! Because of this it seems (as in the case of k'r — k'r) that the ' is original. On the other hand, this word is connected with Hebrew 'D" — ' :syv "flower-pot"¹⁷¹ . In any event, it is clear from Syriac that if the ' is original it became ' at an earlier period. (Where? Syriac generally preserves original '. Is this a borrowing from another dialect?)

YFG: 'dyyn (= 'dyyn) "still" 21328, 22635, jā'édin 21328; qym'h (= qym'h) "somewhat" 1361 8.

The ' disappears completely: An interesting example is YFE 1244: k'ynyyn (nyst) 'yst 'wrz "as to the matter of the rice dough." The scribe did not hear the ', and, therefore, he attached the n of the preceding word and wrote nyst which he then corrected to 'yst. YFG: yvvs'w "Joshua" 7434 yhw5w', ywjw') ¹⁷²; R. yejw (sic!) drwmyyh "R. Jesu, the south-

169 Ibid., s.v. k'r; Brockelmann, LS2, s. v. The material in Ms. V, therefore, changes the state of affairs as recorded by Ginsberg, MGWJ, LXVII (1934), pp. 10—11. It seems doubtful that /c'r (k'r) %lcr (H) "to trouble," but it is possible that 'kr influenced the spelling of /c'r in TB. Nevertheless, even if Ginsberg is correct, the fact that the form in Syriac is /c'r shows that this is not a process which took place in Galilee. This word requires a separate study,

.170 This is the opinion of R. Hai Gaon, quoted in Kohut, AC, s. v. svmd. Are we

dealing here with a popular etymology?

J 7 J Brockelmann, LS2, s. v.; S. Fraenkel, Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, Leiden 1886, p. 69, The explanation given by Kohut, AC, s. v. %swwt', is rejected by B. Geiger, AMC, s. Y.

172 The ed, pr. reads: ywsh bryh dR. dkpr 'gyn "Yose the son of R, Tantium of Kefar Agin" (Y. Sal), 5b); but in the parallel, JJR, Ms. V, p. 45: R. yhwsV' "R. Joshua." Therefore, the reading in YFG is correct and goes back to yw.lw or something similar. cLARWICATION or GRAMMATICAL POINTS IN GA

■The forni z'yyh zyy'h) (f.sg. participle of zw') "trembling" crner.

Ms. V, p. 767, belongs here. It is clear that the scribe did not pronounce the (?öre"). and added it in the wrong "Oshoya" place (cf. is the found examples in a Geniza supra, } fragment17J2C "Kétib

and (from the Byzantine Period'

Against these are the following spellings from YFG: twqy' "he blows (the shofar)" 1165,' bony' tpylh "in (the benediction) 'He hears a prayer' " 47 Onyyll(!) "happy" 169 6', etc.

h for original Ir. Ms. V nthwlt/c (= m/.twlt/c) "your sieve" 972 (see the dictionaries; root n ll); however, n \$tvvwh nstwwh) "it was called" 901 may simply be an error; "thirsty" 1264 is more exact than shy (see the dictionaries); mhyyn (= ml.tyyn) "from life" YFE 246', mg/<h =mšk "he finds" Y FG 1396 is perhaps an error.

'—h: The interchange ' — h requires a special study. This is apparently not connected with the loss of the gutturals. One interesting example should be mentioned: mh hnn qyymyn "What is the case?" GS 443. Cf. also km'wt (= kmhyn) "mushrooms" DR, Ms. V, p. 791.

' for original Ir. b'pty (= b&pty) "in my bosom" DR, Ms. V, p. 883 (see the dictionaries. The root /gpt occurs also in BR, p. 961).^a

' for original ' : Ms. V— 'yl'wn "they tired themselves" 524 (root l'h). This is also the case in CPA,¹⁷⁴ where there are clear signs of the weakening of the gutturals; by'pyl (= b'pyl) "in the autumn" 659 (see the dictionaries). The word is biblical. The word 'rsth (= 'rsth) "you have betrothed" in Piyyute Yannai (ed. Zulay, p. 33, note), shows how careful one must be. This word is the same as biblical 'rsv "to

betroth," but Arabic 'arūs means "husband" (see Köhler-Baumgartner s. v.). According to this we must assume that a real linguistic change ' > ' took place here¹⁷⁵.

The spelling 'r'm (= 'rym) "he raised" FPT 34 (Gen 29:11) should be mentioned here (There is no certain example of the weakening of the i.e. in gutturals in FPT; cf. 'sbt/cwn supra), since spellings of this type

173 Mann, op. cit. (p. 60, n. 71), I, p. 15, n. 4.

174 Schulthess, Grammatik, p. 19. The fact that this phenomenon occurs in the same word in two dialects shows that it is a real sound shift, and not just an orthographic variant. See: Gesenius-Buhl, s. v. I'll.

175 In my opinion, this shows that the word is an Aramaism in Arabic (if the late copyist was not influenced by Arabic!). With regard to > ' I do not think that this was caused by the r (See: J.J. Hess, Zeitschrift für Semitistik, IL (1924), p. 219 ff.) cf. 'rys—'rs but it was the result of popular etymology (the desire to differentiate). Cf. also: 'r' "bed" (Song 1:16).

Il-Il' verbs are found in Pseudo-Jonathan⁷⁶ and in SA¹⁷⁷. For Pseudo. Jonathan and SA I would propose qā'ent "standing." the following This explanation: orthography The was, stands for Thus: q'm — used since q'm was apt to be read: qām "he stood." In SAS ' is widely used as a mater lectionis. (This is also found in reliable Rabbinic texts.) On analogy to the participle this spelling passed over to the perfect and the imperfect. (This is similar to Dalman's explanation.) The problem is complicated by FPT where — as was pointed out above no trace of the confusion of the gutturals is to be found. With regard to the spelling mt'klyn "they are consumed" DR, Ms. V, p. 780 (so in some mss.; others: mt'klyn), cf. L. Ginzberg's discussion of the word¹⁷⁸.

In general, it cannot be claimed that these spellings reflect the language of the scribes, even though a few cases are probably due to them. There are, however, cases where such a claim is hardly possible. For example, the word pry "to run" in the Palestinian Talmud is not derived from prli (so Dalman, Grammatik, p. 99), but from pry' "quickly." This word occurs in TO (see the dictionaries) and in the Palestinian Talmud spelled pry' (Kid. I, 59a bot.)¹⁷⁹, and without the ' in the form pwry (Sheb. 33c, top)¹⁸⁰. A new verb pry "to run, hurry" was formed from this adverb. pry "quickly" is also found in SA¹⁸¹: 'tynw lydk bpry "We came to you quickly." It is improbable that the scribes would have changed an

original * r'h "she hurries" to pryh by eliminating the ', or *pr'yn to the common pry "they hurry."

With regard to h, there is also epigraphical evidence: ty l' (= thy lh) brkth "Let there be a blessing for him," occurs in an inscription in the synagogue at Capernaum.¹⁸² The engraver did not pronounce the h, and therefore he erred. He actually pronounced té instead of téhé. This explanation is supported by YFE 13010, 'yn tpjy!h (thy psy!h) 1k "If

176 Dalman, Grammatik, p. 318, also lists an example with '.

177 E.g. Num 23:17 (ed. Nutt): q'm "standing." The ' represents the long vowel [é] (but in most cases: q'm, e.g. Num 22:23; 31). From such participial forms, the was carried over to the perfect, e.g. wq'mw "and they stood" (Num 22:14).

178 op. cit. (p. 70, n. 122), P. 91.

179 Dalman, Grammatik, p. 214 (top).

180 The form with w is correct. (For the spelling pre among others, see: Schulthess, LS, p. 163.) For an indication of the equation pryé pry, see Lieberman, Tarbiz, III (1932), p. 206; however, no emendation is necessary.

181 Z. Ben-Uayyim, 'A Samaritan Inscription of the Xth Century', Bulletin of the Jewish Palestinian Exploration Society, XII (1945—46), p. 78 (Hebrew). 182 sy, p. 94.

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CLARjrJCATJON or GRAMMATICAL POJt0S JN on

this will be clear to you' 83' The error l' for lh "to him" shows that Ich was already pronounced /é. Cf. also: t'h lh br/(/h "May it be a blessing for him" in an inscription in the synagogue of Gush JJaJabJU. The spelling t'h testifies to the engraver's confusion due to the difference between his pronunciation and the historical orthography.

It is well known that there are Midrashic interpretations
which point

to the confusion of the gutturals! It is, of course, clear that as long as the exegetical methodology has not been studied from a linguistic point of

view⁸⁵ these interpretations in themselves cannot be relied upon. Here are a few examples from DR, Ms. V: h — . wyhllw 'wth —mt'lh whwlkt " 'And they praised her' (Gen 12:15) —

Higher and higher prices were offered for her" 385; h — Ø: rhbym "false gods" (Ps 40:8) — rbbym "tens of thousands" 1088; Il — I' ylzrwk "He will not catch" (Prov 12:27) — y'rwk "?" 753 (This word is also interpreted as y'br "he will delay." Does this mean Il—k?); & —h: 'Izr "after" — hrhwry dbrym "schemes, plans" 428, 614, 1063, etc.; '— ': t'bd "you will work" (Gen 27:40) — t'bd "you will be lost" 762; '— b: wy'tr "And he prayed"

(Gen 25:21) — &wtr "breaking in" 681; '—h: 'Sw "Esau" — h' 'w' "behold, a worthless one" 692; ' — : h'r: "the land" (Gen 10:11) — , 9h "advice" 374. (For another example where r is disregarded in the exposition, cf. dwkym "their roaring" (Ps 93:3) — drk ym "the way of the sea" 33-34.)

By assuming that a twostage linguistic process took place — b > ' and then ' > ' we may understand the following Midrashic explanation: R. Sna'wn bn Iqy5 'm(r) jhypk 't hgzyrh wlpn kn qryyn lh 'trh dhpk 'drh "R. Simeon b. Lakish says: 'He overturned the decree. Therefore, they call it "the shovel" because it overturns the grain in the barn' " BR 681, according to Ms. V. It seems that the first stage was: bglyl' qwryn ltr' 'tr' (So Debarim Rabba, ed. Lieberman, p. 1). When the ' of 'tr' &tr') became ' the play on words dhpyk 'drh was added 186.

The following dispute regarding the correct reading in the Mishnah

is probably the first indication of the weakening of the gutturals — or at any rate of a penetration from some dialect in which the weakening

183 Cf. *ibid.*, n. 10, for additional material, and also déyé (= dyh') "that it should be" YFG 17214.

184 *sy*, p. 29.

185 A. Malamat quotes several examples in his article in *Léjonénu*, XVI (1947), p. J 51, and especially p. 159. On [lir 'tr, p. 152, cf. our discussion.

186 The explanation given by Kohut, *A s. v.*, is rejected by Krauss et al., *AAC*, s.v. 'tr (II).

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had taken place, such as the dialect of R. Eliezer b. Jacob (See *supra*, p. 75, and the dialect of IQIsa!): m'bryn 'tv m'bryn "defining Sabbath limits" (B. Erub. 53a; Y. ib. V, 22b), Similarly: 'kwzw— 'kwzv "buttocks" (See *supra*, p. 74); ' wmmym 'tvmmynt "growing dim"; 'ydyhm 'ydyhm "their festivals"; y%\$'tw y'h'tjv "they will derive benefit." Also: gmy'h gmy'h "full draught"; (gr'ynyn ---gr'ynyn(?) ' eyes" 187

y'zq yzq (y'zq?) "Yazek"); *m'msyn* — m'msyn "closing the 'seeds"; Most of these questions were posed in Babylonia. However, there is at least one example which testifies to this phenomenon at a very early period. The word tm, (my "bone, bones" (Hebrew: %smwt) dropped the ' in GA, CPA, SA, and already in the Uzziah inscription: (my 'wzyh "the bones of Uzziah. "188

The sum total of the loss of the gutturals as it is reflected in the actual vocabulary is not great. Just the opposite is true: Their number is quite small. The indications, however, are certain. The small number of cases raises the question of the distribution and the penetration of the weakening of the gutturals. It is difficult to believe that if they were ingrained and widespread their number would be so small. One recalls Samaritan texts where these indications appear throughout. Nevertheless, at first glance, there is material which provides convincing proof for those who claim that the gutturals were completely confused, viz. the story quoted above from the Babylonian Talmud of the Galilean pronunciation (*supra*, p. 68). Taken at its face value, it indicates the state of affairs at least in the 6th cent. C.E.! However, the matter does not end here.

Place Names as Proof

There is one set of linguistic material which did not pass through the hands of the copyists and is therefore more trustworthy than all the literary material, viz. place names. This material proves unequivocally that in most places in Palestine at any rate among certain classes of

187 See in detail: Epstein, MNM, pp. 8-12; 183-185; 405-407. 'ma — 'md

"to estimate" (*ibid.*, p. J 227) does not belong here. As I have shown in Léjonénu, X (1939), p. 295 ff., this word derives from Akkadian emédu. The spelling h'myd, never existed, but was introduced by the scribes who were familiar with the Hebrew root 'md "to stand." The interchange '—' never occurs in this root. This shows that ' replaced ' and not vice versa.

188 For GA, see; Dalman, Grammatik, p. 99; for CPA and SA, see: Schulthess, LS, p. 144; for the Uzziah inscription, Tarbiz, II (1931), p. 293, and Epstein's remarks, *ibid.*

the population the pronunciation of the gutturals was known at least until the Arab conquest and probably afterwards. It is clear that if the Arabs had not heard the gutturals, they would not be found in present-day place names. An investigation of place names in Galilee has shown — according to the following table that 80—100 place names were preserved without the loss of their gutturals.

The following is a list of historical place names and their present-day Arabic form] ⁸⁹:

Original ' ' today: b'r 5b' "Khirbet Abu as-Saba"; byt m'wn "Tell Mä'un"; byt 'nt "Beit 'Aynün" A 267; bq' "Biqä'" g'twn "Khirbet Ja'thün" 140; !b'wn "Tab'ün" 209; ybl'm "Bel'ame" A 62; yzr'l "Zer'in" 113; yn'm "Tell an-Nä'me" A 18 ¹⁹⁰; mr't' "Bar'äshit" 140; 'bdwn " 'Abdün" A 233; "Khirbet 'Ageshi" 135; 'yylbw " 'Ayläbün" SY, p. 165; 'ywn " 'Ayyun" A 154; 'yn bwl " 'Ayn Ibl" 133; 'yn tynh " 'Ayn Attin" 121; 'yyt' " 'Aytha" 140; 'yytlw " 'Aylüth" 85; YFG

2871,2 (also hyytlw in TB. Is the original form tytylw?

See above, p. 70);

'kbr' " 'Aqbara" SY, p. 117; 'kw " 'Akkä" A 235; 'mq' " 'Amqa"; 136¹⁹¹; 'nm " 'Anin" A 62; kpr 'qbyh "Khirbet 'Uqäbe" 131 (mentioned also in the e'-Hammeh inscription, no. 2, I. 2); 'rb " 'Arab" SY, p. 216, n. 2; jpr'm "Shefä 'Amr" SY, p. 155; t'nk "Ti'innik" A 473; tyr'n "Tur'än" 88, n. 7. Doubtful cases: 'zryh "al-'Azayr" 125. It is accepted that "a!-Tayyibe," south of Ein Dor, is 'prh "Ophrah" in the territory of Gideon (p. 403). Since 'ifrit is the name of a demon in Arabic, the name was changed. In any event, the name "a!-Tayyibe" furnishes proof for the existence of' at the time of the Arab conquest.

Original present-day h: 'lilb S'Khirbet al-Mabälib" A 384; byt 14m "Bayt Labm" SY, p. 15; libry' "Uuwwära" 126; " 'Ayn

Hupa" A 65; hyph "Hayfa" A 347; Izmt "al-Hammäm A 65; &nwt'

189 For obvious reasons, I have tried to list mainly place names — contemporary with the above-mentioned period ----- from Galilee and the immediate surrounding territories, until the mountains of Samaria. The numbers after the names refer to the pages of Klein, Occasionally ----- especially when the Arabic name is not given —

there --- I have quoted from S Y, The material from the Bible and from the Egyptian inscriptions has been cited from Abel, GP, II, Paris 1938 (— A). 'Chis material as much as is included may be found in Avi-Yonah, GHEY, through the index. Even though J have not striven for completeness, I believe that I have listed practically all of the certain material.

190 This city is mentioned in Egyptian but not in biblical SOUTC€s; similarly, others listed in A.

191 Jn S Y, only kpr 'm'wqw is given (listed in Klein, EG, p. 51). This is the same place even though the material quoted there is not identical.

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"Uänütha" 159; ynw/.i "YänüL1'9 A 354; /cpr 9 llynt nliWtn ' 'Tel }Jürn9' 39 Onentioned in the el-Llammeh inscription, no. kpr hy/yy' **"Hittin"** al-Qadim" 123; Cyn "Khirbet Vasire A 65 (See ibid.); rowb "Tell ar-Rabib" A 433, n. 4; ym' 'l ltylt ⁹ ' 'al-Llüle" (see S, Klein, Ere, ' Yisra'el, P. 14).

Perhaps: hgwym "al-Härithiyye" A 2L The name hwsypt which is transcribed in the Crusader Period "Caphrahusepth"¹⁹² is doubtful, since the transcription "ch" could also reflect an original b (This seems probable) or even h.

Original h h today: hrm "Jebel Haramün" A 65.^b

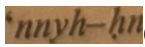
Original 11 -- ' today: Biblical 'nort — Rabbinic n'wrn "an-Nä'üra" 115; Imnyh — 'nn "Kafr 'Anän" 129 ¹⁹³ (DR, Ms. V, p. 235: Imn) hyny in TB (cf. supra, p. 70); &wsyph " 'Usufya" 135. On the name 'prym—/gprym, cf. infra. — Near Galilee in Transjordan, north of the River Yabbok (the "Arabia" of the Midrash; see supra, p. 71, n. 124) is found hmtn— 'mtn " 'Amatta" S Y, p. 48 (In the Middle Ages: 'I'mt'ny "the "Amatite" (i.e. a person from Imtn); see SY, vol. II, p. 9) ¹⁹⁴.

Is 'q'l zytwn hsmwkh Imdynt yt " 'q'l zytwn which is close to the city of Safed" — hq'1195?


Original h today: Biblical nhlwl — Rabbinic mhlwl "Ma'lül"

Original ' which has disappeared (or has become y, etc.) ¹⁹⁷: byt j'rym has not survived (today "Sheikh Abröik") 82; ypy' "Yäfa" 48 ¹⁹⁸; yqn'm

192 S. Klein, Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas, Leipzig 1909, p. 7⁰ idem, MS, p. 21.

- 193 The form with ' is also found in the Geniza. See: S Y, II, s.v. The document is apparently from the 1 Ith cent. C.E.
- 194 Kampffmeyer, op. cit. (p. 64, n. 90) lists three place names in which & > and attributes the change to Arabic. Since he did not utilize Rabbinic sources at all, he did not know that this linguistic change— as shown by the names 'mtn—&mtn,  etc. ---- preceded the Arab conquest of Palestine. Cf. what was said above on this change in Rabbinic sources.
- 195 Mann, op. cit. (p. 60, n. 71)? JJ, p. 204.
- 196 Jn S Y, the form mhlwl is apparently a mistake.
- 197 S. Krauss, ZAW, XXVJJJ (1908), p. 24, is of the opinion that gwbt' gwb't' (e.g. gwbt Onw "Gobath in its name" DR, Ms. V, p. 327). But since besides gwpth (= gwbth) YFG J 3828 we also find gwbbth dyypwryn (see S Y, s.v.), it seems that the root is gbb,
- 198 The had apparently already disappeared in the time of Josephus. Spellings such as 'lava, etc., in Josephus testify to this. See: Schlatter, op. cit. (p. 62, n. 82), P. 63.

"Tell Kammün" A 365; n'ynt "Kaft Nayn" 36•

 „Kisra" A 14; gibw' "Jalbün" GDEY, p. 144.0 nut (A 14; in an Egyptian list) Sm'wnyh, symwnyy' (in the Talmud) "Sammüniyye" 12, apparently does not prove anything. Here the Greek name replaced the Hebrew form of the name just as was the case in the personal name. Doubtful cases: 'wzy'1 125; gl'd 113; tn'nt 114.

11 which disappeared (or became y): &qwq "Yäqüq" 122; mmlyh "Khirbet Mimle" 120. (Thev form mm/' occurs already in the Amoraic period, e.g. BR, Ms. V, p. 630; but rby ywsy mmlwhy' 124 is also found.) A doubtful case is &prym — 'prym. According to Klein (SY, p. Ill) this is present-day "Khirbet Fariye." But Mazar (Maisler) disputes this identification, since there are no archeological remains there (See A 343 and Avi-Yonah, GHEY, p. 134)199. Even if we accept the identification of &prym with "Fariye," the loss of ' seems to be due to the same reason that 'prh became "at-Tayyibe" ('ifrit is the name of a demon in Arabic; see A 61). librll "Abrikha" A 14 cannot serve as an example since the second & still exists. This indicates that a different cause should be sought here for the loss of the first h.

Original 'h today: 'w" "Khirbet al-Hüsa" SY, p. 3.

Thus, more than forty place names have preserved the gutturals, most of them in their original form. There are approximately nine certain cases of the loss of a guttural. If we add to these the doubtful cases their number is not more than a quarter of the cases where the guttural was preserved. Even more interesting is the fact that some names appear in the sources without gutturals, but today they contain these sounds: Biblical 'bF is today " 'Ayn al-Habüs" or "al-'Abüs" A 62. (Is this identification certain?); kpr symyy—sym'y today "Kafr Smi" " 156 (GHEY, p. 135: Kafr Simi'a); py m:swbh (m'»vbh) "Khirbet . 159 (GHEY, p. 149, reads: "Masüb", and so also in the index. This is apparently a priming error, since the form "Ma'}üb" is given also on maps); ytyr "Ya'tir" 140; 'wlm f' 'Ulam" S Y, p.

173; 'blyn " 'Ibillin" S Y, p. 1; 'yn ('yn) ttyyh c' %Ayn Attin" BR, p. 268201.

199 The material is collected in Dalman, SS, p. 219. But in the second reference, read: Tosephta, instead of: Mishnah. See: J. S. Horowitz, Palesline and Adjacenc Countries, Vienna 1923, s. v. &prym, n. 4 (Hebrew).

From *pwm' syb'* in the Tosephta (SY, s.v. 'kw)

201 This is missing in Ms. V where there is a blank space.

In the margin of
Cf. also R. *haya'*

In Ms, L: ntynyh "one from 'Ain Teina"; see, S Y, p. 117, s.w. 'ntwn' YFG 8415.

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There gre examples also in reliable texts: BPS Me V.

" 'Anbüne*' GT!EY, r. 144702; rh in Rabbinic Source' i'

ha'ib (S Y, p. 154, read' (apparently incorrectly?)

"Sa'ab. ••

Yonah, 61/EY, p. 136, gives "Sha'ab"). R. Bp Mg, V, p. 914, from this place? (For the interchange b—r, cf fvpra, p. 16, ' hwwry•.) Perhaps also kpr s•s'y "Khi&t Sa';as•• GHEY, p. 134; however, the reading is doubtfuL See SY, p. 95; 'mtw DR, Ms. V.

p. 387204, in Transjordan opposite Jericho is today "Ayn al-Harnäm."203 *What* is the explanation of this phenomenon? There are two possible solutions: 1) ' bæame ' in Arabic. This has parallels in other parts of Palestine, e.g. 'fqlwn " 'Asqalän" SY, p. 8; 'HIM' "Kafr 'Ana" GHEY, p. I(Y); 2) The ' was never lost in the place name in the first place, but in the dialect of the writer it became either' 206 or disappeared. 'blym " 'Ibillin" points to the first possibility. ('åbel as a place name occurs in the Bible.²⁰⁷) 'rbw " 'Arab" indicates the second possibility ('rb is found as a pJacc name.) Most likely both factors were involved.

The above list shows that the gutturals were apt to be affected in any position in the word. Even though unaffected gutturals are found in word-final position, it is likely that this position was particularly vulnerabJe.^{20É} Jn my opinion, an indication of this is the name mmly&.

During the period when the place was called mml', the nisba-form was mmlw&y' (mm/y&y') DR, Ms. V, p. 408 (erasures in the text). In word-final position other consonants besides the gutturals were vulnerable. Instead of qlyl "little bit," the form gly is found in BR, p. 521 (according to Mss. VL). It is clear that there is no error here. This is proved by the following passage from Wayyikra Rabba (ed. M. Margulies), chap. 34, p. 789):

wysb!

lh q/y z'yr br'jy '+•b'wiyw " 'And he passed he rparched corn' "

bec.au»e of the present-day form of the name, it is certain that the form 'rbw

with a (gild not y) is the correct one.

203 S Y, p. 155, Ja. j'h, die editor did not take into account the reading o/ Ms. V uud LcsiLuungiy cocoidcted this person to come from s' in Transjordan.

204 was ooLvd above, i; an addition of the corrector in a blank space. The name Loduy is 'Aio ci-IÅamana"; cr. infra, p. 94, for place names deriving from the

20S b. (1948), p. 62. 206 Jn iB usvd in caw. Occasionally it was crossed out by the copyi»ib who lhougiii that it was Just a mater lectioni\$. Ms, p. 40.

208 p. 60 following Kampfmejec

did not word-final gutturals.

states that the Arabs

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(Ruth 2:14) A little, a small quantity at the tips of his fingers." See Theodor's commentary on DR, p. 521.

The above list also informs us as to the time of this phenomenon. It is characteristic that in the "Daraitha of the Twenty-Four Priestly Watches" — approximately the 2nd cent. C.E. (S Y, p. 162) nvnyli is still found, but afterwards, the form is mml'. On the other the hand,form it is possible that already in the time of Josephus, the ' ofypy' was lost. The fact that &prym of the Mishnah is 'prym in the Tosephta and in the

Talmud is most interesting. kpr Imnyh appears as 'nn in the time of the Talmud. As Prof. Mazar points out to me, kpr 'wtny ('wtn'y) is still transliterated in the 2nd cent. C.E. as zazaезотpeä²⁰⁹. All this indicates that the linguistic change & > ' took place in the 2nd — 3rd cents. C.E. There are practically no fluctations between and h in Palestinian texts²¹⁰.

Conclusions

From the previous list it may be unequivocally concluded that in most places in Galilee (and it seems also in the rest of Palestine) the inhabitants were able to pronounce the gutturals. Kahle's opinion that at the time of the Arab conquest of Palestine the Jews were unable to pronounce them but learned them from the Arabs and consequently — according to him — that the entire reading tradition of words containing gutturals goes back only to the Arab Period, is therefore completely refuted.

There is explicit proof that at least the ' and & were still pronounced during Jerome's time.^a He says²¹¹ that the Jews belittled the Christians for their inaccurate pronunciations "especially of the aspirates and of certain letters which should be pronounced with a guttural roughness (*rasura gulæ*) . . . So it came about that for Rahel they said Rachel, for Jeriho Jericho, for Hebron Chebron, for Seor (= z'wr "small") Segor." It is thus clear that he is referring to 11 and ' which the Jews could pronounce but the (most likely Hellenized) Christians could not. This is explicit proof for the existence of the gutturals in the pronunciation of the Jews. Since on the other hand Jerome testifies to the loss of the gutturals, this points to a solution of the contradictions: The testimony refers only to the transcriptions of LXX and to the pronunciation of the

²¹⁰ But byt DR, Ms, V, p. 1267 (2 X) occurs also in the form btr& 1182 bét 'irali Lcf, 'yd—yd supra, p. 251 < bat yera&). The form 'ry(l derives from this. ²¹¹ F. Suttcliffe, 'Jerome's Pronunciation of Hebrew', *Biblica*, XXIX (1948), p. 120.

Christians. It also points out the way to explain the phenomenon ■■

Loss of the gutturals in general (See *infra*).

How can this fact be reconciled with the facts reflected in both Jewish liturgical poetry and in the orthography of reliable texts? There are several possible explanations. On the one hand, it may be assumed that the texts passed through the hands of people living in areas ■■ the gutturals were lost. On the other hand, it may be assumed — and this is quite natural — that a dialect mixture had begun to take place, or at least individual words from dialects which had lost the gutturals may have begun to penetrate. In the final analysis, the total number of examples in reliable texts is relatively small, and they are often the same words (cf. 'dyyn!). In this respect even the liturgical poetry does not prove anything regarding the language of its authors. Perhaps when the poet needed, for example, a h for a 11, either for a rhyme or for an alphabetic acrostic, he did not hesitate to employ them, since this pronunciation occurred in certain areas. This is only a case of *licentia poetica*. Similarly, one cannot learn from the poetry of Bialik that he pronounced S as s — as do the Lithuanian Jews²¹² — even though he used the two as a forced rhyme. Thus, one cannot learn from the few examples of the interchange and loss of the gutturals in Yannai's poetry as to his pronunciation. Even the biblical fragments which Kahle collected which are completely vocalized except for the gutturals just prove the otherwise known fact that there were places in Palestine where the inhabitants were unable to pronounce the gutturals. In light of the above discussion, these cannot prove under any circumstances that this was the case in all of Palestine.

Perhaps the matter is even simpler. We should ask ourselves the following question: What caused the loss of the gutturals? In Mandaic and in Babylonian Aramaic this was caused by the Akkadian substrate. Brockelmann²¹³

attributes the confusion of the gutturals in the whole Semitic

212 M. Altbauer, *Gilyonö*, XVJII (J 945—46), pp. 244-245. Other "Lithuanianisms" are mentioned there.

213 CVG, J, p. 126. This does not mean that we should look for foreign influence in every instance where this occurred. In the South Arabian inscriptions from Hadramaut, ' is sometimes written for % See: M. Höfner, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1943, pp. 12—17. The same applies to modern Mehri. See: W. Leslau, Review of M. Höfner, op. cit., JAOS, LXXIX (1949), p. 98: "In fact, Semitic becomes ' in Mehri." In the dialect of the Tayyi' tribe, there are examples of ' > See: Rabin, op. cit. (p. 70, n. 123), p. 201q, The area of this tribe apparently bordered on Iraq and because of this fact the name of the tribe in the form /yy" became the generic term for Arabs among the Babylonian Jews, the Syrians, and the Persians (ibid., p. 193). This inter-

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f*Eng area to foreign influence. It seems to me, that **menon** here the phew may only explained as being due **no** to Greek need to recount here the strength of Greek influence in the whole Middle East from the time of Alexander the Great until the Arab conquest. Evidence for this powerful influence is to found in the large number of Greek loanwords in Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, etc. It is also well known how great this influence was on the Jews. R. Judah the Prince even said: b'rs yfr'115m 5srsy Imh 15m qwdf 'w 13m **Why** use the Syriac (i.e. Aramaic) language in Palestine? Either Hebrew (lit. the holy tongue) or Greek!" (B. B.Kam. 82b; Sop 49b). He was thus willing to replace Palestinian Aramaic with Greek. S. Lieberman in his book Greek in Jewish Palestine (New York, 1942), has pointed out the depth and extent of Greek influence both on the scholars and on the common people. If we hear a report about the Jews of Caesarea who recited the Shema (a short prayer) in Greek (Y. Sop 21b), this means that there was a city in Palestine in the 4th cent. C.E. (the time of R. Levi b. Haitha) where the knowledge of Hebrew (and Aramaic) was so low that the people were unable to recite even the Shema in Hebrew. This shows how great the influence of Greek was in places which were centers of Hellenistic culture.

Greek has neither *b* nor *'*. A Greek did not pronounce the gutturals and probably did not make an effort to do so. Because of the natural imitation of the ruling Greek or Hellenized class, it is clear that when the local Semitic inhabitants spoke to them, they also tried not to pronounce the gutturals. This was likely to begin in the main with place names (as far as these had remained Semitic) and with individual words which had passed into Greek. Just as the Greeks did not pronounce the place names in their Semitic form²¹⁴, so it seems that when dealing with the ruling class not only the philhellenes but

also the common people would not pronounce them in their Semitic form. Similarly, during the British Mandate of Palestine, when an Arab clerk spoke to an Englishman he did not say Ghazza but Gazza, and a Jewish clerk would not pronounce it as 'Azza but Aza. This opened the way for a "cultured and refined"

change is also attributed to the ancient Hijaz dialect and is round even today. (To be sure, in Tihäma Yemenite; cf. especially *ibid.*, p. 127e and the preceding and following Paragraphs.) Especially, if the last examples are certain, it would be difficult to imagine

foreign influence.

214 Concerning them, Jerome also complains that they could not properly pronounce Aramaic. See: Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 59.

pronunciation, i.e. a pronunciation without the The inhabi. cants of Cacsarca were certainly unable to pronounce the gutturals, since they did not even know Hebrew (and probably also not Aramaic)²¹⁶. But between people such as the inhabitants of Caesarea and a Jew who knew Hebrew there were certainly many intermediate levels. There was probably a which knew how to speak and write Aramaic (and Hebrew), but which in imitation of Greek and under the influence of its Greek vernacular had lost its ability to pronounce the gutturals to some extent. Jerome's description of the differences in pronunciation between the Jews and the Christians quoted above supports this theory²¹⁷.

Additional support for the theory that the main factor in the matter is Greek influence comes from an above-mentioned Baraita (supra, p. 69). Of the three cities mentioned Beisan, Haifa, and Tibon — whose inhabitants were incapable of pronouncing the gutturals properly, the first was one of the cities of the Hellenized Decapolis. Haifa situated on the Mediterranean coast, certainly had a Greek (or Hellenized) population. Unfortunately, nothing is known of Tibon.

Additional Evidence

At another opportunity^a I intend to deal extensively with Jerusalem and to show that this process took place there also (The Dead Sea Scrolls). Perhaps it is no coincidence that in several places — in Jerusalem and in the surrounding area — this process also took place. jilo'ali is Elloap

²¹⁵J found a good illustration of this in the Times Literary Supplement. In the "Letters to the Editor" column of the newspaper there was a dispute on the question of T.E. Lawrence's proficiency in Arabic. The question was finally settled by a letter written by Lawrence himself and republished in the issue of July 13, 1951, p. 437 (Published originally in T.E. Lawrence to his Biographer Robert Graves, Faber and Faber, 1938)". % and my teachers were my servants, who were too respectful to go on reporting my mistakes to me. Theyf011/id It easier to learn my Arabic than to teach me theirs."

'This was apparently the relationship which the Semitic public servants showed to their Greek or Hellenized bosses,

216 Because the two languages are closely related, there is no reason to believe that they knew Aramaic. "Their knowledge of Hebrew was so weak that they had to recite the Shema in Greek (and not even in Aramaic).

217 Actual parallels to this phenomenon abound. A Jew from Eastern Europe who acquired German customs in Germany often tried to change his "ugly" Polish accent when praying to the "refined" German one. When I taught in a seminary for foreign teachers in the Summer of 1950, I had to explain to one teacher, an Oriental Jew from North Africa, that he should continue to pronounce and carefully. He innocently

thought because of what he had learned from his Ashkenazic teachers accent was neither nice nor correct. that his

gad in the New Testament, and today Si%än in AraS;cä'. "(spring of the waters of) Nephtoah" (Jos 15:9) kcated

ectskirts of Jerusalem is called today Lifta2D. gb'xm ■

Jes I | :19), north of Jerusalem is present-day "al-fib`220. bit

Beth-Horon" (Jos 10:10) and byt "Lover (and (Jos 16:3)

on the road to Jerusalem are today 'Cr and "Bit 'Cr Tahta"221. If, for example, the was Jost in it should born in mind that it ser-ed as a pro'.incial ceater Periodä. The conclusion is that the cultured city izdueaced its environs23. It is true, that to prove this theory c.07the whole set of place names in Palstize must be systzzatziz%y i:vstigated. If it is then found that, in general, the relatiozship is dtfa-æt, only Jera- then it be to rely on the material Thich I have

As was above, after the first stage of the ling-zis±c chazge had ox-zrred, i.e. &) the gutturals were completely lost SA²⁴. T±efez, it is not surprising that an£ent (e.g- Judg 1:35) is today Sel±t in Arabic '23. The excavations caried out there by revealed the remains of a Samaritan synagogue and cf a Sa maritan inscription²⁶. There is no hfonnation on Samarit=s zodzrn Midye located on the Bah Horon — Jercelen red, ed fore, nothing can be said about it. But ifwe find today 'Azvas" deris±g froz k.m:h + a Greek case ending, might this not show the first Sazariza st-ae h) ' ? Not only do we kiow of Samaritans in this i2 the

218 G. Dalma.n, Jerusalem sein GeEu p. SO.

219 P. 57; A&l, 39S. ZO Q, 11, p. 335.

221 Ibid., pp. 274, 275.

222 Another explanation is also quite possible: Foreign elements in the city and its environs after the destruction of the Second Temple. See: M. Avi-Yonah, *Bine Roma u-Bizantiyon* (In the Days of Rome and Byzantium), Jerusalem 1962, p. 244, n. 3, and the literature quoted there from Eusebius (Oral communication of Dr. M. Avi-Yonah). The spelling $\Sigma\iota\lambda\omega\delta\mu$ is already found in the Second Temple Period, and it is difficult to explain the μ if the δ was still pronounced. See my book (*op. cit.*, p. 68, n. 115), p. 39.

223 Avi-Yonah, *GHEY*, p. 137. Is it a coincidence that Eusebius mentions 'ya dwr — in which the ' was also lost — in his Onomasticon (ed. Melamed, p. 46, no. 475) together with n'ym-nyyn and byt j'n? This city was in the Beisan district (Avi-Yonah, *loc. cit.*).

224 It may be assumed that in the isolated villages the original state of affairs re-

maized.

Byzantine Period²²⁷, but in the Palestinian Talmud they are mentioned as being in *mdyyh*. This may indicate that all (or most) of its inhabitants were Samaritans²²⁸. Nevertheless, we cannot come to a definite conclusion until we have systematically investigated the forms of all the place names in all the above-mentioned areas in all periods (including the Medieval Period, both in Arabic and in transcriptions).

In any event, the name "Amwas" requires further attention. In the Rabbinic sources there are at least seven place names which go back to a root *ltmm*²²⁹. All of these names have preserved the guttural to this day. In four instances — 1. near Tiberias; 2. modern el-Hammeh; 3. opposite Jericho; 4. Illitt' of Pella — the original *ll* has remained. In two instances — 1. Hamath, north of the river Yabbok in Transjordan (Talmudic "Arabia"; cf. *supra*, p. 71); 2. apparently in a Samaritan district — *ll* > '*l*. It is therefore characteristic that in Rabbinic sources these names appear in various forms. Completely Hellenized forms *'mtn* and *m'ws* — *'m'ws* are found²³⁰. A partially Hellenized form is *'m'ws* — *m'ws*. (Metathesis apparently took place here *'m'ws*!].) *'mhws*²³¹, a Babylonian Aramaic form is found in a "Babylonian" source. This shows — as we have seen before — that the original consonant was *h*. . . Whereas the form *'m'ws* shows the first stage of the linguistic change (*li* > '*l*) which has been preserved until the present-day — there seems to be a partially Hellenized form grafted onto the original form. In this manner, I explain the form occurring in the second el-Hammeh inscription²³²: *wdkyr llb ywdn 'rdh mn &ym'ys* (read: *&ym'ws*) "May Judan from Hbnaos be remembered for good." The form *tym'ws* -k the Greek case ending²³³, i.e. he was from that very same place. He is mentioned in this manner since the other donors listed in the inscription were

227

sy, p. 6. 228 Loc. cit. and note.

229 See especially; S Y, p. 44ff.; B. Maisler (Mazar), *Tarbiz*, XV Ill (1948), pp. 62—63, contra S Y, pp. 6, 7, 48. See also Klein, MS, pp.

42—43. Klein, *ibid.*, does not identify Ion/' dpå/. This place is not even given a separate entry in S Y, but is mentioned (with* out identification) on p. 25, s.v. am', no. 2. For the identification, see: l. Press, *A Topographical Encyclopaedia of Palestine*, II, Jerusalem 1951, pp. 264—265 (Hebrew): Two kilometers north of Khirbet Cf. also ZDPV, L VILL (193 1), pp. 26, 28. 230 This is the most common form. See: S Y, p. 5, n. 1, Klein, MS, p. 43, lists also the form 'm'ws, but this form is not listed in S Y. What is its origin (

231 S Y, p. 5, col. b, bot. (correction). 'anneas!)?

232 *Ibid.*, p. 46, cols. a-b.

233 The y represents approximately the sound [el; cf. 'Egaoü; temporary texts, IaJ, especially in a doubly closed syllable, became [el, e.g. 'ebbå '*father." See: Ji.L. Ginsberg, *Tarbiz*, V (1934), p. 381. This explains forms such as

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from other places: Sepphoriq, KcCor AqnbioJi, Copcrnaum, ArbeJ, and Susita. We have here the pince nonje ' 'Aina'us" 'Arna'us). It is interesting to note that although cojnplctcJy llcllenized forms occur in Rabbinic sources^{2A4}, the places called /pn/l were prcgerved by the Arabs either in their pure Seniitic Corni, in the Corni after the first Jinguistic change (t ' or in a partially llellenized form, i.e. 'f 'Amwas," with the root in the form after the first (Smnaritan?) linguistic change + the Greek ending. It is interesting to note that the last two places are written in Rabbinic sources also with (and of course, with h), but the others not!

With regard to the last form, why was the Greek language unable to completely Hellenize the form so that the ' has remained to this dag The answer to this seems to be as follows: The partially Hellenized form was replaced in the third century C.E.²³⁵ by a different name: Ntzdzolt;! The ruling class therefore did not continue to employ the previous name, and the desire to imitate ended as a matter of course. (It is possible that because 'kw "Acre" and other cities spelled with gutturals received Greek names their original Semitic names were preserved alongside. This was not the case, for example, with regard to n'ym — nyyn²³⁶.)

All these names show clearly that in spite of the power of Greek influence, the inhabitants in the vicinity of the Hellenized cities succeeded more or less in preserving their language and their place names as received from their ancestors²³⁷. When the Byzantine Empire was conquered by the Arabs, the Greek names were for the most part quickly

sygyn "much" (= sgy + —n) DR, Ms. V, pp. 624, 707, 931. Cf. also: 'ytryn (= 'tryn) "places" 699; mytlyn mtlyn) "parables" 924; etc.

234 Also in the Jaffa Inscription: l'zr bn yhw'w m'm'ws "Leazar b. Joshua from Amaus." (S Y, p. 80, col. a, no. 5), But in CPA we find 'm'ws and even 'mw's, the present-day form. See Schulthess, LS, p. 148.

235 Abel, GP, 11, p. 314.

236 This hypothesis could be investigated in one branch of the Semitic Languages: In the area where Amharic speakers who do not pronounce the gutturals — rule over Tigriha speakers ----- who are able to pronounce them. Unfortunately, I am unable to clarify the matter.

237 The name bmh and related forms exemplifies the need for cooperation between linguists and scholars dealing in the geographical history of Palestine. A serious beginning cannot be made until there exists a geographical-historical dictionary in which the forms of each name are listed from antiquity until the present-day from every language, writer, and period. Even Klein, *ibid.*, in dealing with the various forms of the name bmh attributed them to some extent (in a different manner than that presented here) to Greek influence.

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forgotten: The Greek Scythopolis — approximately 1000 years old became once again Beisan; Ptolemais was lost and the ancient name Akko was revived. The reason for this phenomenon is that the peasants who were close to the Arab conquerors in origin, language, custom, and way of life — assimilated to them over a period of hundreds of years until they became one people — the Arabs of Palestine. We may assume that popular elements such as these were also to be found in the cities. (The population of the cities derives from the villages.) Among those in the cultured class, the scribal families — from which preachers, teachers, and Masoretes came — for religious-nationalistic reasons could not completely go over to Greek culture as did the rest of the Jewish intelligentsia — and probably even more so the Gentile intelligentsia. Even if the correct pronunciation was not preserved among them they could easily restore it from their neighbors in the villages. They were even able to attract **vil**-lagers to their ranks as is evidenced by the names "So-and-so from such-and-such a village." With the decline of Greek culture and the rise of Arabic culture with its Semitic pronunciation, the Semitic pronunciation of Aramaic was able to recapture its place also among the Jewish class (or in the Jewish places) where it had been forgotten. This took place thanks to the Arabic background. This is in contrast to the Samaritans among whom apparently no one who had preserved the ancient pro-

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had nunciation tradition — in any case not among the intelligentia survived until the period of the Arabic conquest. Thus their ability to pronounce the gutturals was completely lost, just as their use of Aramaic as their vernacular disappeared, even though geographically they remained in the same area and were not dispersed outside of Palestine..